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NOTES

OF

A VISIT TO GUJARAT,

IN DECEMBER 1869.

OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

BY

J. BURGESS, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.

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THANKS to the Railways, holiday visits to the more remote parts of our Bombay Presidency have now become quite practicable. The principal desideratum felt is that of guides; for too frequently Murray and Bradshaw fail completely to afford the smallest assistance. The writer offers the following notes of a visit to Ahmadabad and the older royal cities of Siddhapur and Pattan in the hope that they may be of use to the tourist, and of some interest to the general reader, who may not know much of the history of these and other once famous cities; and he would be glad if they might induce others also to contribute to a closer knowledge of the topography of our less known provinces, the folk-lore of their varied tribes, and similar subjects.

They are reprinted with a few corrections and additions, and with some footnotes and references, but without material alterations from the form in which they appeared in the columns of the *Times of India*.

J. B.

Bombay, 1870.

NOTES

OF

A VISIT TO GUJARAT.

I.—BOMBAY TO BASAIN.

The journey by rail from Bombay to Ahmadabad, lying as it does along the sea-board, presents no very remarkable variety of scenery. For the first twenty-five miles the route leads through the low lands of the western sides of the islands of Bombay and Salsette—the latter the *Sashthi* of the Hindus and still retaining traces of its long occupation by the Portuguese, from whom it was wrested, after a severe struggle, by Baji Rao Peshwa in 1737. By the Marathas it was ceded to the English by the treaty of Basain, concluded with Raghoba Peshwa in 1774 and in their hands it has remained ever since. Not far from Pahadi station is the great Hindu cave temple of Jogeshwari, 120 feet square inside; and ten miles farther north are the caves of Montpezir, beside the ruins of a Jesuit Monastery built in the 16th century.

Beyond this the railway crosses the Basain and Thana creek by a long iron bridge, and passes, at some distance, the famous ruins of Basain—the

Wasai of the natives—locally known also as Bajipura. De Faria mentions that in 1532 the Portuguese made a descent upon this coast and burnt all the towns from Chikli-Tarapur to Basain; and in the latter part of 1534, under Nuno d' Acuna, they succeeded in obtaining from Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, the cession of Wasai, Mahim (thirty miles north of it), and other places; permission to erect a fort at Diu; and the right of levying duties on the Red Sea trade—they, in return, promising him assistance against the Emperor Humayun.*

For more than two hundred and thirty years from this time Basain remained in their hands; it was said to be the largest city they had built in India, and to comprehend the greatest extent of territory. It was fortified by strong walls flanked with bastions, was adorned with some seven large churches and monasteries, and must have been a place of importance and luxury. Gemelli,† who visited it in 1695, says "the compass of *Bazaim* is three miles, and has eight bastions, not all finished," while "on the south side, towards the channel, there is only a single wall, that place being less exposed to the danger of enemies, and sufficiently defended by the ebb and flood. One third of the city, towards the north, is unpeopled, by reason of the plague which some years rages in it. The streets are wide and straight, and the great

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* *Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin*, pp. 136, 137.

† *A Voyage round the World* by Dr. J. F. Gemelli Careri, Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. IV. p. 191.

square or market has good buildings about it There are two principal gates, one on the east and the other on the west, and a small one towards the channel or strait." The outskirts were then in a high state of cultivation, "nothing appearing," the same author says, "for 15 miles but delightful gardens planted with several sorts of country fruit-trees, as palm, fig, mangas, and others, and abundance of sugar-canes. The soil is cultivated by Christian, Mahommedan, and Pagan peasants, inhabiting the villages thereabouts. They keep the gardens always green and fruitful, by watering them with certain engines, so that the gentry, allured by the cool and delightful walks, all have their pleasure houses at *Cassabo*, to go thither in the hottest weather to take the air, and get away from the contagious and pestilential disease called *carazzo*, that uses to infect all the cities of the Northern coast. It is exactly like a bubo, and so violent, that it not only takes away all means of preparing for a good end, but in a few hours depopulates whole cities." Captain Hamilton, perhaps a keener observer than the Italian doctor, and who visited it about the same time, says "its walls are pretty high, and about two miles in circumference around the city, which has a little citadel in the middle of it. It contains three or four churches, and some convents and monasteries, with a College and Hospital." He adds—"It is a place of small trade, because most of its riches lie dead and buried in their Churches, or in the hands of indolent

lazy country gentlemen, who loiter away their days in ease, luxury, and pride, without having the least sense of the poverty and calamity of their country." The governor was a Captain, but here resided also the *General of the North*, whose authority extended over Daman, Diu, &c.; "but," says Hamilton, "the Church superintends, which makes his Government both uneasy and precarious."*

It was here that in the year 1636† two pinnaces were built for the Surat Factory, which, with two others built at Daman, formed the nucleus of what afterwards developed into the Bombay Marine.

In its tombs lie buried some of Portugal's bravest sons. Mrs. Postans mentions the names of the great Alfonso d' Albuquerque, who took Goa from the Zabaim in 1515, to make it the capital of the Portuguese dominions in the East, but who was cast off by an ungrateful sovereign and died broken-hearted off the coast; and of Don Lorenzo, who so gallantly encountered the Turkish fleet of "nearly one hundred sail of garbs, polaccas, and of vessels of a similar description," under Soliman Aga, before Diu in 1538.‡

When the Marathas seized Thana and Salsette in 1737, they took the precaution to occupy the island of Dharâvi and the creek, so as to prevent all succour from Basain reaching the forts on the

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* Capt. A. Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I. p. 180.

† Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Company*, vol. I. p. 334.

‡ Postans' *Western India*, vol. I. pp. 183, 184; *Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin*, pp. 142-144.

island; and after possessing themselves of the Tarapur district, they laid siege to Bassain early in 1739. For three months Chimnaji Appa, the brother of Baji Rao, pressed the siege with more persevering exertion and skill than the Marathas had perhaps ever elsewhere displayed. They sprung some twelve or thirteen mines, of which two exploded at once and made a large breach, which they resolutely and promptly mounted, when a third mine, "having caught fire, blew hundreds of the assailants in the air. The Portuguese flung a quantity of hand grenades amongst the crowds in the rear, whilst they plied those who had ascended with musquetry, and drove them back with much slaughter." At last the Marathas gained a position from which they could not be dislodged, and the garrison, worn out by fatigue, and famine, and the loss of 800 of its best officers and men, offered to capitulate. Their commandant, Silviera de Mineyes, had been killed, and was succeeded by Caitano d' Souza Periera, who stipulated that "all the garrison, as well regulars as auxiliaries," should be allowed to march out of the town with all the honours of war, whilst eight days were allowed to those of the inhabitants who so wished, to leave it with all their moveable property. The Marathas had lost in this remarkable siege more than five thousand men.*

Soon after this the English concluded here their first treaty with the Marathas—in July 1739,—

* *Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. IV. pp. 71-87.

arranging through Chimnaji Appa for an extension of commercial privileges. By the Marathas Wasai was made a *Sar Subha*, and the chief place in that section of the Konkan, extending from the Bankot river to Daman; and, the Portuguese having driven away most people of the higher castes, Madhava Rao Peshwa offered them grants of land free to resettle in the neighbourhood. The Marathas also instituted a tax in support of Brahmans to purify the Native Christians, (whom they affected to regard merely as *polluted Hindus*,) with a view to their reception into their former castes. In 1763 the Company began to covet the possession of Wasai and Sashthi, and in 1773, Bharoch, Fort Vittoria, Rajapur &c. were offered to the Marathas in exchange, but in vain. Next year, however, the Portuguese at Goa were found preparing to seize them, which induced the Company to take possession of Salsette at once. By the treaty of Surat (1775), Raghoba, then contending for power, readily ceded both, with other places, in return for the promise of the Company's aid. The Maratha ministers, however, when their time came to be treated with, in 1776, did not readily accede to this, and it was with difficulty Salsette was retained whilst Wasái and other acquisitions were renounced.

Again, in the time of Warren Hastings, when Raghoba had involved the English in war with Nana Pharnavis and Madhavji Sindhia, General Goddard was ordered to take Basain from the Mara-

thas, and accordingly in the end of 1780 he began the siege. Ramchandra Ganesh, the able Maratha leader, found himself foiled in his attempts to succour it, and was killed in an attack made with 20,000 Marathas on Col. Hartley's small force near Dugád—19 miles eastwards.* The day before, Goddard had taken Basain with the loss of only thirteen men. It was restored to the Marathas by the treaty of Salbai in 1782. Still later, when Jeswant Rao Holkar had defeated the combined armies of Sindhia and the Peshwa Baji Rao and entered Puna in triumph, the Peshwa was fain to ask Lord Wellesley's subsidiary force which he had previously despised; and here, on the last day of 1802, Col. Close and Baji Rao concluded the famous treaty of Basain, in which the latter purchased protection by allowing his independence to be circumscribed. This treaty—the last made with the race—may be regarded as the starting point of the great Maratha war in which Lake and Wellesley figured so conspicuously.

After this Basain lay almost uninhabited for thirty years; when Bishop Heber visited it in 1825, there was "a small guard stationed in one of the gates, under an English conductor of ordnance," and the place was kept locked up, but was "within perfectly uninhabited, and containing nothing but a simple small pagoda in good repair and a melancholy display of ruined houses and

*Grant Duff says nine miles. *Hist. Maratt.* vol. II. pp. 426-428.

churches." "It reminded me," says Mrs. Heber "of some story of enchantment which I had read in my childhood, and I could almost have expected to see the shades of its original inhabitants flitting about among the jungle, which now grows in melancholy luxuriance in the courts and areas of churches, convents, and houses."* Nor has it to this day greatly recovered from its long desolation. Among the mementos of its sieges are still to be seen the remains of a magazine of stone balls each about six inches in diameter.

The island of Basain is about eleven miles long and from three to five broad, and is separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. The soil is rich, and produces sugar-cane, rice, and pán. It is divided into two mahals—that of Manikpura in the south-east, consisting of six villages, and that of Agasi in the north, of twelve. The Brahmans are found chiefly in Papri, a village a little to the north-east of Wasai; they are mostly Chitpawan or Konkanastha, but some are Deshastha, Gujarati, &c. "On the first establishment of our Government," says Mr. Vaupell, "when the Brahmans (who were so enthusiastic as daily to expect the return of Baji Rao, and the overthrow of the English) refused service, the Parbhus gladly accepted it, and they have thus obtained an ascendancy in the Northern Konkan which they have not yet lost." Nirmal—sometimes called Vimal—little more than four miles

* Heber's *Journal* (12mo ed.), vol. II. pp. 130 and 128, note.

north of Basain, and two west of Supara* has a Hindu temple with an *annachhatra* or store-house for the support of lazy Brahmans—both well endowed at the public expense, and long managed by the Pope of Western India—the Guru Shankar Acharya Swami,—whose *gadi* is to the Brahmans what that of the Vallabhacharyas is to the Vaishnavas.

On the east side of the railway is Tungar Hill, likely at no distant date to became a rival to Matheran as a hot season retreat for the Europeans of Bombay.

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*This is doubtless the *Subarah* mentioned by Abu'l Rihan Mohammad surnamed Albiruni, in the early half of the 11th century. He says it was six parasangs from *Sindan* (Sanjan) and five from *Tanah*. It must also surely be the *Sopara* of Ptolemy, and the *Oopara* of the Periplus, which Lassen identified with the place known to Sanskrit writers as *Surparaka*, but he erroneously conjectured the locality of it to have been about the modern *Surat*.

II.—BASAIN TO BHAROCH.

After passing Verar station, the line sweeps across the low marshes of the Dantura creek that receives the Vatharna or Waitarna river, and near Dehnu, it passes the still wider area of the Kothambi, Kotamba, or Waghnadi.

SANJAN—the *St. John* of our older maps*—on the Waroli river, reminds us of the history of the Parsis in India—for it was here, after a perilous voyage from Diu, that their ancestors landed about A.D. 717. At Diva or Diu they had resided nineteen years but were driven from it, according to the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* of Behram Kaikobad of Nausari, (A.D. 1599) by persecution. The story of their landing at Sanjan, as usually told, is as follows: On approaching the coast a great storm arose which terrified the crews of their vessels and drove them to their prayers. They addressed themselves especially to the *Izad* or angel Behram, vowing that if they escaped with their lives they would regard him with special reverence, watch his sacred fires, and hold in honour the days sacred to his name. On reaching the shore, they found that the prince of the place was Jadé Rana, a tributary of the Raja of Champanir; and to him they deputed four of their principal mobeds to request permission to settle in his territory. They explained who they

* *Cape St. John*, however, was the headland between Dehnu and Tarapur,—4½ miles south-west of the former.

were, and on being asked about their religion and social practices, requested a few days to prepare a reply. This reply they are said to have presented in fifteen *shlokas* or distichs composed in a corrupt form of Sanskrit. Jadé Rana gave them permission to settle in his territories on condition that they should cease to wear armour, use the Gujarati language, modify the dress of their women, and celebrate their marriages at night.* In 720, their *Anjuman* or community erected their oldest fire-temple—that at Udhawada which was consecrated by Nereosang Dastur. In the eleventh century they are said to have sent out colonies to Nausari, Khambat, Bharoch, &c. But we hear no more of them till 1507, when Mahmud Begadha invaded the neighbourhood of Sanjan : then about fourteen hundred of them took up arms in defence of the Hindu prince and suffered in consequence after his overthrow. The sacred fire, they say, was then carried into the jungles of Wasanda. And now Sanjan is deserted by the Parsis.

After passing Bhilad station, the railway crosses the *Daman Gunga* river, a deep stream—the boundary between the Konkan and Gujarat,—and, according to Lassen and others, the *Dunga* of Ptolemy. Ancient Geography, however, is a somewhat ticklish subject in which learned authors are allowed to make strange guesses, and M. Gosselin gravely informs us that—'*Dunga* is recognized by a simple

* Translation of the *Kissah-i-Sanjan*.—*Journal Bombay Branch R. Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 167-191.

transposition of two letters in the little village of *Gundar*[*]! Had he only known of *Dongari* it would have saved the transposition, and there are hereabouts three places of the name within fifteen miles.

DAMAN is a Portuguese town, and the principal place of a small district about seven miles from north to south and four broad, which they have long held. The Prasa of Daman is on the south side of the mouth of the Daman Ganga river, and old Daman with the castle of S. Jeronimo, on the north. It was sacked and burnt by the Portuguese in 1531; it was again taken and sacked by Martin Alfonso de Souza in 1535; it was then rebuilt, and in 1559 again captured by Don Constantine, the son of the Duke of Braganza, Viceroy of India, who fortified it. In the seventeenth century Aurangzeb laid siege to it, and determined to storm it on a *Sunday*, thinking Christians would not on that day use their arms. The Governor, however, made a sally the night before, and so frightened a body of 200 elephants with the fire of musketry, that they rushed wildly on the Muhammadan forces, and thus enabled the Portuguese to attack at such advantage that the siege was raised.

From Daman Road station two isolated hills are in sight, that of *Indragadh*, two miles south-east of Daman, with the remains of a fort on it, and at a like

[*] *Recherches sur la Geographie des Anciens*, tom. III., p. 224. Gandar is a village on the S. side of the Dhadar river, opposite Tankaria Bandar.

distance north-east a somewhat higher one, (being 420 feet,) with an *Idgah* upon it. Between Balda Pardi and Balsad, the railway passes near another solitary hill, 623 feet high, which is regarded as the terminal peak of the Sahyadri or Western Ghat range that stretches away south towards Cape Kumari. This hill of Parnera is capped by a strong fort which, with Indragadh and Bagwada, was taken by Lieut. Welsh in a very gallant manner in April 1780,* and in the earlier days of our rule it was occupied by a military officer's party. The fort contains some capacious reservoirs of fine water, and the view from it is said to be extensive.

At Bilimora, Gandevi, Umalsad, and Nausari,†—mostly in the Gaikwad's territories—we find the present habitats of the Parsis: indeed the last named is the Benares of their *Athurvans* or clerics, where they have an Atash Behram or fire temple, erected by Deshai Khurshedji, and consecrated by Dastur Sorabji Rustamji in 1765, whither all the young *mobeds* from Bombay and elsewhere are sent for confirmation or to receive the apostolic succession of their order. The present temple, however, is not the first erected here, for we find there was one at Nausari when Dr. Fryer visited India in 1675, —to which the sacred fire had been conveyed from the Wásandá jungles after the troubles in the time of Mahmud Begadha.

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* Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas* vol. II. p. 416.

† Is not this the *Nasaripa* of Ptolemy, which he places about 66 geographical miles north of *Soupara*, and 42 south-west of *Kamanes*?

SURAT is too well known to need description; though in its present state of decay few would suppose that only three quarters of a century ago, if it was not as populous as the whole island of Bombay is yet, it was at least the largest city in India. For more than a century after the arrival of the English in Western India their history is closely bound up with that of Surat, and till May 1800 it had its President. At that date also, after the death of Nizamu'd-din, its Nuwabs ceased to exercise authority, and in 1842, the last who held the title died, and the flag of the Mughuls ceased to be displayed from its citadel. The English and Dutch cemeteries, with their huge tombs and curious epitaphs, are the only sights of much interest about it. The epitaphs have been copied and published in Mr. Bellasis' account of the tombs.*

At Kim the railway passes a considerable river of that name, †and enters the Bharoch collectorate. Fourteen miles farther is Ukaleshwar or Anklesar, a considerable town, and one of those taken from the Marathas by General Goddard on his march from Surat to Dubhoi in January 1780. The pargana was given up to the Peshwa in 1783, but ceded by him again in the treaty of Basain.

Journal Bombay Branch R. Asiatic Society, vol. VI. pp. 146-156.

† The *Kamanês* of Ptolemy and the *Kammoni vicus* of the Periplus, if not on the *Kim* river must have been thereabouts. Ptolemy places it half a degree north of *Nusaripa*, exactly the distance between Nausari and the Kim. Dr. Vincent, in his chart, places it conjecturally near the mouth of the *Tapi*, about where the village of *Kawas* now is, and marks it also as *Oopara*. He hints also that this latter name may be the same as *Orpad*—the 'Oolpar' of Rennell—on the *Sena*, 11 miles north of Surat.—*Periplus*, vol. II. p. 385.

III.—BHAROCH, &c.

BHAROCH has become better known to us since the Exhibition held there in December 1868. It is generally recognized as the "*emporium Barugaza*" of Ptolemy and Arrian, on the river *Namadus*.° The Greek and modern names are considered by some as alike corruptions of the Sanskrit—*Bhrigu kshetra* (the land of Bhrigu), or *Bhrigu kachha*—the peninsula of Bhrigu; and it may have been so called from some school of that Muni having early settled there: indeed tradition says he sojourned on the spot where the city now stands; and there is a family of Brahman *Deshais* or 'original residents' here, whose descendants take the title of *Bhargava* before their names, as significative of their descent from this Muni and a giantess whose generations *Lakshmi* doomed to eternal poverty. These Bhargava Brahmans are indeed comparatively poor and ignorant. In the itinerary of Hiuen Thsang, Bharoch appears under the Chinese form of *Po-lu-kie-tch'e-p'o*, easily transliterated by recognised rules into *Barugachheva*, or as M. de Saint Martin reads it—*Varikacheva*,—the capital of a kingdom, on the *Nai-mo-tho* (or Narmada) river, from 480 to 500 miles in circuit; and this name agrees with the old native one of *Bharukachha*—a form which leads Dr. Bhau Daji to regard the derivation from *Bhrigu* as a mistake. *Bharukachha*

° The *Lamnaius* of the Periplus.

itself, Hiuen Thsang speaks of, as four miles in circumference. "The soil," he says, "is impregnated with salt, so that shrubs and trees are there few and far apart; a seafaring life is the sole business of the people. The climate is hot and the air subject to storms of wind. Coldness and indifference prevail in the manners. The people are naturally false and deceitful. They do not know how to cultivate learning, and believe at once heresy and orthodoxy. There are half a score of [Buddhist] convents where they reckon about three hundred recluses of the school *Chang-tso-pu* (of the *Sthaviras*) which belongs to *the greater translation*. Here are also half a score of temples of the [Hindu] gods; and the heretics of different sects live together."* And probably till a comparatively late date a remnant of these Buddhists were to be found here.

Albiruni, in the eleventh century, speaks of *Bahruj* and *Rahanhur* as the capitals of *Lardessa*,† and reckons them at 42 parasangs south of *Anhalwara*, and 30 from *Asawal*. Edrisi, who wrote his "Amusement of the Curious in the Exploring of Countries" on the authority of Masudi (who visited India in A.D. 915,) and other Arab travellers, calls it *Baroh*, and adds that the name is also pronounced *Baros*. He says it is "a large city, beautifully and well built in brick

* Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales, tom II. pp. 153-154.

† *Lar-dessa* or *Lar-desh* is the *Larike* or *Larika* of the ancients and the *Lat* of Sanskrit writers. Dr. Bhau Daji suggests that *Rahanhur* may be *Randera*, an old town nearly opposite Surat.

and plaster. Its inhabitants are rich, commercial, and ready to engage in speculations and distant expeditions. It is a station for ships coming from China as well as for those from Sindh."* And, lastly, Ali Muhammad Khan† ascribes the foundation of the ports of Bharoch and Dubhoi to Siddha Raja of Pattan (A. D. 1093-1142).

Bharoch was taken by Akbar in 1572, when, at the invitation of Itimad Khan, that emperor marched into Gujarat to deliver it from the distractions then prevalent under the rule of Muzaffir Nathu the nominal prince. After his abdication it was held by Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who was defeated by Akbar in person, with a small band of brave men, at Sartal on the Mahindri. The town, which Abul Fazl describes as "a great emporium" with "a fine fort," was thereafter governed by Nuwabs. In 1660 it was taken by Aurangzeb, after some resistance, and all the garrison put to the sword, he also destroyed part of the walls and imprecated a curse on whoever should rebuild them. But the exploits of Shivaji led him to order their repair himself, and his army having suffered much during the siege of it from want of water, he re-named it *Sukhabad*—a name which did not come into use however. In 1685, the Marathas, under Sambaji, seeing Aurangzeb's army engaged about Bijapur, made a bold inroad upon the territories in his rear, plundered Bharoch, and ravaged the neighbourhood.

* Géographie D'Edrisi par M. Jaubert tom. I. p. 175.
† Bird, *Mirat Ahmadi*, p. 136.

The East India Company got into a dispute with the Nuwab in 1771 about certain claims due to the Government of Surat, which terminated only in Nov. 1772, with the taking of the city by storm under General David Wedderburn, who was killed in the assault. In 1782 it was ceded to the Company by the treaty of Salbai, but was presented by the Governor General and Supreme Council to Madhavji Sindhia "in testimony of the sense which they entertained of the generous conduct manifested by the said Madhavji Sindhia to the Government of Bombay, at Wargam, in January 1779; and of his humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen, who had been delivered as hostages on that occasion."* It continued to belong to Sindhia till the great Maratha war, when Lieut.-Col. Woodington, soon after Asai, was sent into Gujarat, and stormed it in May 1803. Since then it has belonged to the British. It is still a considerable town about 2½ miles in circuit, partly built on a small artificial hill, but its 'beauty and good buildings' must be looked upon as among the things that were: it is now a poor ruinous place.

The sights of Bharoch are;—the "Silver Masjid," containing the handsome marble tombs of the Nuwabs; the Dutch Burial Ground; and the *dargah* of Baba Riban—a *pir*, who is said to have come from Baghdad in A.D. 1078, and to whose memory has been erected a fine mausoleum, about a mile from the city, with several domes richly orna-

* Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* vol. III. pp. 355, 356.

mented. In the neighbourhood are the "Kabir Bar" or great Banian Tree at Shukla Tirtha, a small island on the Narmada, 12 miles above Bharoch. It is said to have sprung from the tooth-pick* of *Kavir* or *Kabir*, who is also said to have dug his own grave here and died in it,—whence his sainted name and statue on the spot. This *Vad* tree has been often described.† The Carnelian mines at Ratnapur are six miles farther east.

Twelve or thirteen miles north of Bharoch the railway again enters the Gaikwad's territory. BARODA—near the little serpentine stream the *Vishvamitra*—is his capital, and has been since the rise of his dynasty in 1732. The country around abounds in splendid trees, giving the scenery the appearance of an English park. The native name is *Varodra*,—but in the catalogue of its ancient epithets and their origin, as detailed in the gossip of Tod‡ and industriously retailed by Briggs, no confidence can be placed.

* Trees also sprung from Buddha's toothpicks: See Julien, *Mémoires*, tom. I. pp. 54, 55 and 292; and Travels of Fa-Hian, chap. xix.

† Heber's *Journal*, (12mo ed.) vol. II. p. 121.

‡ *Travels in Western India*, p. 245.

IV.—AHMADABAD,—ITS HISTORY.

The line of the railway now bends to the north-west, and twelve miles more brings us to Wasad, where it crosses the Mahi—the *Mais*, and perhaps also the *Mophis*, of ancient writers,[c]—a stream that rises in the Vindhya Hills about 100 miles due east of this, and after running about 120 miles in a NNE. direction turns to the SW. to join the Gulf of Khambat. But night falls on the traveller, and it is late when he reaches Ahmadabad,—once a very famous city, and still the second in the presidency,—the *Rajanagar* of the Jains, and just possibly the *Sinhapura* of long forgotten times. But though this is very doubtful, it has some claim to be regarded as occupying the site of *Karnavati*, also called *Shrinagar*, built by Shri Karna Deva, the Solanki sovereign of Gujarat (A. D. 1073—1093). The railway station is outside the present walls, on the east side of the city, and between the Kolhapur gate and the village of Saraspur.

AHMADABAD was at one time the most splendid city in India; the circumference of its suburbs was about twenty-seven miles. The streets are said to have been spacious and regular, the mosks and palaces magnificent, and the fountains, caravanserais, and courts of justice well arranged; but her day of glory has departed; for nearly three centuries

[c] Called *Mahindri* by Muhammadan writers. See p. 21.

no royal court has attracted the commerce and wealth of surrounding provinces; and for half that period not even a viceroy has helped to preserve the memory of its former importance.

It was in A.D. 1412, the first year of Ahmad Shah, "the grandson of the apostate Taka," while he was contending with his cousin, Firuz Khan, that, at the instigation of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu Ganj Bakhsh, he founded this city as his new capital,* beside the older town of *Ashawal*,† which formed one of the *mahallas* or wards in its suburbs. "The situation," says Abu'l-Fazl, "is remarkably healthy, and you may here provide yourself with the productions of every part of the globe. There are two forts on the outside of which is the town, which formerly consisted of three hundred and sixty *puras* (or quarters) but now only eighty-four are in a flourishing condition. In these are a thousand stone masjids, each having two large minarets, and many wonderful inscriptions."‡ Each *mahalla*, Ferishtah tells us, had a wall surrounding it; the principal streets were sufficiently wide to admit of ten carriages abreast; and, "it is hardly necessary to add," he says, "that this is, on the whole, the handsomest city in Hindustan, and perhaps in the world."§ But it was built by the iconoclast Muslim,

* Bird's *Mirat Ahmadi*, p. 187.

† Alberuni (cir. A.D. 1030) mentions *Asawal*, two days' journey from *Kambaya* and 30 parsangs from *Bahruj*.—Reinaud, *Frag. Arab. et Pers.* p. 121. Edrisi also mentions *Asawal* as near *Henawi* or *Jenawi*, a large city.—*Géographie*, tom I., p. 176.

‡ Gladwin's *Ain-Akbari*, vol II., p. 63.

§ Briggs's *Ferishtah*, vol IV., p. 14.

and we can scarcely doubt that Colonel Tod was right when he asserted that Chandravati and Anhillawada had been dilapidated to raise Ahmadabad, and that the work of reconstruction was accomplished by aid of the wonderful perseverance and skill of the Hindu *shilpi*.* Indeed Ali Mahammad Khan expressly affirms that 'all the marble which has been used at Ahmadabad and other places came from Anhillawada.'†

From its foundation it continued the capital of the Gujarat kings till the fall of the dynasty in the time of Akbar;—not, however, without witnessing the presence of enemies. In 1452, in the reign of Kutb Shah, the grandson of its founder, Sultan Mahmud Khilji, of Malwa, marched upon it, and reached Batwa—not six miles from the gates of the present city—whence he addressed taunting verses to the timid Kutb Shah encamped at Sarkhej. Losing his way however in the night, among some ruins, he failed to surprise the Gujarat army, but succeeded in defeating its left wing and carrying away the royal tiara and girdle, with other jewels, after which he retired.

Mahmud Shah, surnamed Begadha—the brother of Kutb Shah—surrounded the city proper by a wall and bastions, and on its completion had this sentence, commemorative of the date, inscribed on one face of the fortification,—

'Whosoever is within is safe.'

The Arabic letters of this chronogram give the

* Tod's *Travels in Western India*, p. 238.
† Bird's *Mirat Ahmadi*, p. 161.

numerals of the date A.H. 891, *i. e.* A.D. 1486. Within the walls only the chosen Islamite was allowed to dwell ; without, the despised and oppressed Hindu.

We pass on to 1533 when Bahadur Shah, one of the grandsons of Mahmud Begadha, was on the throne. The glory of the Gujarat Muhammadan kings had not yet begun to wane. Bahadur, after repulsing a very powerful Portuguese force at Diu, marched by way of Ahmadabad to Chitor. The Rana's agents there tried hard to purchase peace but only succeeded when the mother of Vikramáditya, the Rana's son, offered to pay five lakhs of rupees, to present a hundred horses, ten elephants, and the jewelled crown and girdle captured by the Rana from Mahmud Khiljí I. of Malwa, and which had been taken from Bahadur's ancestor in the battle of Sarkhej. This splendid waist-belt was afterwards presented with other gifts to Suliman the Magnificent, and was valued in Constantinople at sixty lakhs of ducats or thirty million aspers.*

Bahadur had provoked the Great Mughul, however, and was soon a fugitive before the army of Humayun. He finally took refuge at Diu in 1535 ; and Mirza Askari, having defeated the Gujarat army in an obstinate engagement near Mahmudabad, was left by his brother the Padshah, in charge of the forces at Ahmadabad. But after

* J. von Hammer, *Memoirs on the Diplomatic Relations of Dehli and Constantinople.*

holding Gujarat for some nine months—Shir Shah having meantime raised an insurrection against Humayun—the Mughuls, on the first symptom of insubordination, marched off to Agra in a body, and, without hazarding a single battle for the province, left Bahadur Shah to resume the throne. Thirty-six years later—in 1572—owing to the pusillanimity of Muzaffir III., the assumptions of Itimad Khan, and the insubordination of the Mirzas, the Emperor Akbar was asked to interfere and put an end to the anarchy. This he readily did and conquered the country without an engagement. Akbar left his foster brother Khan Mirza Aziz Koka in charge of the government and settlement of the country, and from that time it was governed by viceroys. One of the most noted of these in Akbar's time was Abd-ur-Rahim, the son of Beiram Khan, and styled *the Khan Khanan* or 'chief of the nobles,' who ruled it from 1583 till 1589, and defeated Muzaffir in 1584, at Sarkej in his last effort to regain the throne. It was in his time also that the great Hindu financier Todar Mall, made his revenue survey of the province. Among other succeeding subahdars we find the names of Sultan Murad Bakhsh, Akbar's son; of Shah Khurram—afterwards Shah Jehan in 1618-1623; of his son Murad during Jehan's own reign; and of Shah Nawaz Khan, the father-in-law of Aurangzeb, in the troublous times that succeeded, when the latter was wading through the slaughter of his brothers to his father's throne.

When Dara was defeated at Ajmir in 1659, he fled hither with his family for refuge, but after eight days and nights toilsome marching, with the plundering Kolis mercilessly harassing him, he found its gates shut against him. This sad news arrived early on the morning they expected to reach the city. "And now behold," says Bernier, (who had accompanied him for three days) "all was in an unexpressible confusion. Every one looks upon his neighbour, and nobody knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we saw Dara come forth half dead, now speaking to one, then another, even to the meanest soldiers. He seeth all astonished and ready to abandon him. What counsel? Whither can he go. He must be gone instantly. . . . I saw him march away, and that with tears in his eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred cavaliers at most."*

In 1735 Nazim-ud-daula Momen Khan was appointed viceroy, and two years later the Gaikwad obtained an equal share in the revenue and government of the city. In 1755 Jivan Mard Khan Babi, having charge of the Mughal quarter, managed to obtain the other also; this led Damaji Gaikwad to lay seige to the place which was vigorously defended and only surrendered on terms honourable to Jivan. Early in 1780 General Goddard took it by storm, assaulting it at the Khan Jung Gate in Mir-

* Bernier, *Hist. of the late Revolution of the Empire of Mogol*, pp. 210, 211.

zapur,—where the Masjid is pitted with shot and considered as desecrated by the Musalmans. The Persian proclamation of General Goddard is still in possession of a descendant of Nathusa Khusalchand, the *Nagar Sheth* of that day. It runs thus:—

"Be it known to Nathusa Nagar Sheth and others, the inhabitants, countrymen, and people of Ahmadabad, that it is necessary for you at present to remain in tranquillity in your abodes, and to entertain no misgivings in your breasts but to pursue your various vocations as heretofore, so that no one, in any manner whatsoever, will afford the least annoyance; therefore let this injunction be known and the same carried into execution.—Dated this 5th day of Safar A.H. 1194.—THOMAS GODDARD."

And on his seal,—

"The Amir-al-daula, General Goddard, Bahadur, Victorious in Battle, Servant of Shahai Alam Padshahai Gazi.—A. H. 1193."*

The city was again restored to the Marathas in 1783, but reverted to the British on the fall of the Peshwa in 1818.

The walls of Ahmadabad, on the west side, run nearly due north and south along the banks of the Sabarmati—the *Suvarnavati* of olden days; and on this side are the Bhadr and Khanpur gates. On the north side they run eastward from the Shahpur gate, past the Dehli gate, to the Daryapur gate, and then trend south-east to the Premabhai gate, then more to the southward past the Kolhapur gate, from which they bend inwards, and again run out to the Sarangpur gate to the south of the Railway

* Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, pp. 212, 213.

station. From this they describe a quadrant to the Rajpura gate on the south-east side of the city; then run west to the Astoria gate, and thence south-west to Haibat Khan's Mosque at the Jamalpur gate near the south-west corner of the city. The perimeter of this irregular semicircular enclosure is about five miles and three quarters. There are sixteen gates, and at almost every fifty yards along the walls are bastions and towers. In 1832 the British local authorities raised a tax of about two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees and restored the line of the walls. They are about five feet thick, and fifteen feet and upwards in height.

V.—THE MUHAMMADAN REMAINS AT AHMADABAD.

To describe fully the Muhammadan buildings of Ahmadabad would be to write a large volume. Sufficient information to satisfy the ordinary visitor, however, may be found in the writings of Forbes, Briggs, Fergusson,* &c. and I propose only to glance at the principal of those within the walls in the order in which they may be most rapidly visited by the tourist.

On the edge of the platform at the end of the railway station are the two loftiest minarets in Ahmadabad. Every vestige, however, of the masjid to which they belonged—even to its name—is gone. The stairs are considerably damaged, especially near the bottom, but they may still be ascended to enjoy the view from the upper stories. A little to the south of them is the mosk and tomb of Sidi Basír—or rather what remains of them,—for they were ruined in 1755, when the Marathas wrested the city from Jivan Mard Khán Bábí. Of the mosk, only the minars and gateway now exist. It takes its name from Sidi Basír, a favourite slave of Sultan Ahmad Shah, whose tomb adjoins it.

Turning towards the city and entering it by the Sarangpur gate—to the right, we find the *Rani ki*

* Forbes. *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. III. pp. 101-105, and 117-162. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, pp. 196-324. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. II. pp. 667-676, and *Architecture of Ahmadabad*.

Masjid, of somewhat uncertain date, and with one of the minars broken off. A little to the left of it is the masjid of Shaikh Muhammad Ghus Gwalieri—built in 1562—also with only one octagonal minar still entire.* It differs in style from most of the other buildings of the kind here, and, as Mr. Fergusson remarks, "though not deficient in a certain amount of grandeur, is painfully wanting in elegance."

Passing along by the city wall, past the Rajapur gate to the Astoria gate, we find near the latter, on the right, the *Rani Sipra ki Masjid*, which all competent judges consider, architecturally "the gem of Ahmadabad, and, in its class, as one of the most exquisite buildings in the world. It is also," adds Mr. Fergusson, "one of the most perfectly Hindu of the buildings of this city, no arch being employed anywhere (except in one side doorway), either constructively or for ornament. The minarets, too, though so exquisite in design, are not minarets in reality; they have no internal stairs, and no galleries from which the call to prayer could be recited. They are pure ornaments, but of the most graceful kind. The charm of this building resides in two things. First, the completeness and unity of the design: every form and every detail is designed for the place where it is put, and is appropriate to that place. And next to the fact that all the details are beautiful in themselves, and just sufficient to relieve and accentuate the construction, without ever concealing or interfering with it."* Rani Sipra

* Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, p. 84.

was the wife of one of the sons of Sultan Ahmad Shah, and her mosk was built in A. H. 835 (i. e., A. D. 1432). It is a hall, open on the east side, about 54 feet in length, inclusive of the towers, and 20 feet wide exclusive of them. The roof is supported by two rows of six double columns. The mausoleum is directly in front of the mosk.*

In the neighbourhood of this last is *Asa Bhil* or *Ashâwal*—the *Asawal* of Albiruni† and the *Yesawal* of Ferishtah—the place with which Ahmad Shah was so pleased when he founded the city, and, which still gives name to one of its *mahallas*. About fifty yards from this is *Dastur Khan's Masjid*, so called from a Vazir of Mahmud Begadha, and remarkable for the beauty of its perforated stone screens, and for a reservoir under the courtyard and of the same size with it, twenty-five yards square. Still farther to the S. W., and near the Jamalpur gate, is the masjid of Haibat Khan a noble of Ahmad Shah's time, and who has also given name to a suburb of the city.

From the Jamalpur gate we proceed towards the centre of the city, where is the *Juma' ah Masjid* near the *Manik Chauk*. It occupies the end of a large quadrangle 382 feet by 238 over all, the mosk itself being 210 feet by 95. The court in front is paved, surrounded by a colonnade roofed with small domes, and has a reservoir in its centre. The masjid is at the west end of the enclosure and is one

* Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 245.
† See note p. 25.

of the most beautiful in India. It contains two hundred and sixty columns, and is covered by fifteen domes—five along the length of the building and three in depth,—so arranged that the three over the central area are so much higher than those on either side of them that light is admitted over the adjoining roofs; and the three on each side these again are higher than the three covering the two wings. The wings are open in front, and the area between them is entered by three open archways, the central and largest one adorned on either side by the lower portion of a minar, beautifully ornamented, but broken off at the sill of the window whence the mu'azzin used to call to prayers. These are what remain of the famous "shaking minarets of Ahmadabad," which could be made to vibrate by a slight exertion of force at the arch in the upper gallery. They were thrown down by the earthquake of 1819. Connected with them the following extract from the journal of the late Col. Monier Williams is interesting :—

"*31st May*, 1809.—We found, on examination to-day, that the minarets of the Juma'ah Masjid shook just as much, or even more than any of the others, and that one communicated the motion to the others fully to as great a degree as those of the Bibi Sahebs. Indeed, we tried the experiment upon every perfect pair of stone minarets within and about the town, to-day, and the effect was just the same with them all.

"As the motion that one of the minarets receives from the shaking of the other might be supposed to be communicated to the whole intermediate building, I lay down on the terraced roof, equidistant between the two minarets, while

people above were shaking them; but I was not sensible of the smallest motion or agitation whatever in the building under me."*

The floor of the masjid itself is of a coarse kind of marble, and inside the entrance is an inverted plinth of black marble, said to be that of a figure of Parshwanath, the 23rd Jaina *tirthankar*. Upon this every devout Islamite stamps to heighten his piety before he advances to mutter his prayers. Cleanliness of course has no connection with such piety, and the Jaina who accompanied me could not help remarking the beggarly importunity of those about it, who would cringe and supplicate for a *puis*, and yet insolently demand the shoes to be put off on entering the large enclosure. It may be remarked that in British territory in Western India this demand is much more common than it is either in Native States or in Bengal,—a demand that must lower the Musalman, with his more spiritual religion, below the idolatrous Hindu, whose creed teaches him that the stones of the floor of his temple may be morally defiled by the contaminating touch of leather, whilst the Muhammadan who professes not to believe in any moral influence in stone or hide, yet servilely practises the superstition of the Hindu. Though he never scrupled to desecrate and destroy the shrines of others, no one would wish to outrage any right intelligible feeling he may entertain for his sacred buildings, but such feelings are always civilly expressed.

* Grindlay, *Scenery, Costumes, and Architecture of Western India*, Part I.

An inscription on a slab over the middle *mehrab* states that the *Juma'ah Masjid* was built by Sultan Nasru'd-din Abu'l Fath Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah bin Sultan Ahmad in the year A.H. 827 (Dec. 1423 A.D.) The court is entered from the north and south sides : the porch to the street at the south entrance being purely Hindu in style. A door to the east leads to the splendid mausoleum containing the tombs of Ahmad Shah, his son Muhammad Shah I., his grandson Jalal Khan Kutbu'd-din, and Ahmad Shah II. The tombs are of white marble raised about 2 feet above the pavement. To the east of this is the somewhat ruined *maqbara* of the Queens of Ahmad ;—the tomb of Mughulani Bíbí in the centre is of white marble ; that of Murki Bíbí—a favorite mistress—is of black, inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

A little to the west is the *Tin Darwázah* which led into the outer courtyard of the palace. This brings us in front of what is now the Jail—built, as the Persian inscription over the entrance informs us, as a palace by 'A'lam Khan Ghazi in the time of Shah Jehan.—

> " Echo was asked to supply the date : A voice was heard declaring—
> ' The house of goodness and favour.' "

And the numerical values of the letters in the words amount to 1046—the year A. H. corresponding to A.D. 1636-37. It was afterwards used as a Muhammadan college, but in 1820 this ' house of goodness and favour' was converted into a jail.

Behind it is the *Bhadr* or Citadel, on the south side of which is Ahmad Shah's masjid, evidently built of the spoils of some Hindu or Jaina fane ; on the west is the *Manik Burj* or 'Ruby Bastion,' where the foundation stone of the city is said to have been laid ; and at the north-east corner of the same enclosure is the masjid of Sidi Sayid, a slave of Ahmad Shah's. It was desecrated by the Marathas, and has been since used as a public office by the British, but it contains two windows of perforated marble, in which the patterns of trees are so wrought out that "it is probably more like a work of nature," says Mr. Ferguson, "than any other architectural detail that has yet been ever designed by the best architects of Greece or of the Middle Ages." Near this is the tomb of Shah Vaji-u'd-din, erected about a hundred and seventy years ago, a fine monument with elegant traceried windows. A little to the north of it is Sayid Alam's masjid, built by Abubakr Husain, about 1425,—in which the pillars of Hindu temples seem to have been largely used. North-east from this again is the *Rani ki Masjid* in Mirzapura—near the traveller's bangla. Its minarets were also, like many others in Ahmadabad, destroyed by the earthquake. It stands on a mound above the level of the road and derives its title from the *Rozah* beside it, which contains two monuments to the memory of two princesses, one of whom was named *Rupavati*—probably some unfortunate Rajputni, mercilessly wrenched from her father's house, to adorn the haram of the Muslim.

Proceeding towards the Delhi gate, we come upon the Masjid of Kutbu'd-din, built in 1446, and near it that of Muhafiz Khan in the *Idhar ka chakla*, built in 1466, in the time of Mahmud Begadha, by Vazir Jamalu'd-din. We cannot agree with Briggs as to the magnificence of the *coup d'œil* of this mosk,* but in detail it is exquisitely finished and is the least injured in the city. South-east of this last are the temple and monastery of Swami Narayan† —or rather of his successor, for the Swami himself died about 1829 and was succeeded in Ahmadabad by his nephew Ayodhya Prasad. Lastly, near the Shahpur gate is the Masjid of Shaikh Husain Muhammad Chishti built in A. H. 973 in the reign of Muzaffir Shah Habbu. The minarets were never finished, but in the rich tracery of their niches they are probably unrivalled even in this city.

A visit to Ahmadabad ought also to include the splendid tombs at *Sarkhej*, about five miles to the south-west of the city; the mausoleum of Burhanu'd-din Kutb-u'l Alam at *Batwa*—as far to the south, and on the way to it, that of his son Shah Alam with other interesting remains; and lastly the *Shahi Bagh*, about a mile and a-half to the north,—but this my time prevented.

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* *Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 254.

† Conf. Heber's *Journal*, vol. II., pp. 108-111, ed. 1861.

VI.—AHMADABAD—THE JAINA TEMPLES, &c.

The sights in and about Ahmadabad would take several days to do anything like justice to, and the more notable of its Muhammadan specimens of architecture just noticed are well worthy a careful study. To the kindness of the *Nagar Sheth*, the writer is indebted, among other things, for seeing so much as it was possible during his very limited stay,—a kindness that was all the more grateful that it was voluntarily proffered.

In the French edition of Mandelslo's Voyages there is a print of a *Pagode des Benjans*[*] quaint enough to excite any one's curiosity ; it is a Jaina temple, in which the image is a four-horned and bearded Satyr, with an ugly horned head between its legs. I had heard of the *bhoinoruns*, or sunken apartments, in the Shrawak temples of Ahmadabad, and accordingly set off to visit some of these shrines first,—not that I expected to find the Shrawaks worshipping horned demons—such as Mandelslo so minutely describes—but to be able to form a correct idea of the object and origin of such places. I was readily shown several of those in Javheriwada : —they are sunk shrines, generally reached by a narrow stair from the apartments above, and receiving light only through a grating in the roof. Usually

* Les Voyages du Sr. Jean Albert de Mandelslo (Amsterdam, 1727) tom. i. p. 161.

they contain the larger and most venerated images of the Tirthankaras, and perhaps also the more valuable treasures. It is evident from the arrangement of these sanctuaries that, in time of war and pillage, a few slabs of stone or even a heap of rubbish would effectually conceal them from the search of every one unacquainted with their position. This confirms the testimony of the Jainas, that they were constructed to hide their images from the desecration of the Islamite. It is possible that the idea may have been suggested by the Cave Temples of the Buddhists, (of which the Jainas are a very old branch or sect) or that old rock-cut apartments being found useful—as they probably were at Talaja and elsewhere—to hide away their gods, they proceeded to construct these cells systematically in localities where danger was likely to recur. And in times of peace they would be found specially cool and agreeable as places of worship—in itself no slight advantage. May not the Jainas also have adopted the hemispherical dome from the Musalmans, as a feature that might lead the stranger to pass by their temples as mosks ?

In the *Mandvi-ke-pole* I was taken to see a temple containing a somewhat famous representation of *Sammeya* or *Sameta Shikhar*, by which name the Shrawaks designate their *tirtha*, or sacred place at Mount Parshwanath in Bengal,—a name, by-the-bye, provocative of the query whether it is not philologically connected with *Sammatiya*—the appellative of the school of Buddhists from which

the Jainas are descended? This huge wooden frame-work, constructed about 120 years ago by a Shrawak who had made the pilgrimage to Mount Parshwanath, is a curious piece of carving with small shrines on the representations of the numerous peaks, and puppets that are made to dance and pirouette in their various positions by means of machinery inside—which makes abundance of noise. The temple was being repaired and repainted with fresh decorations, and the work—*mirabile dictu!* was being executed by a Muhammadan and an old woman—no doubt as wise in the art as with her spectacles on her old, withered, but shrewd face, she looked. This couple required no special instructions—knowing the subject they have to execute, they can carry out the details to the full satisfaction of their Shrawak employers,—the old man being famous in the execution of polytheistic and mythological representations; and here the two were engaged in a fanciful painting on the wall of *Mount Shatrunjaya* in brilliant colours.

A short way from the Dehli gate is Sheth Hathisinha's temple, dharmashala, and mansion, which are said to have cost ten lakhs of rupees. Together they occupy a pretty large rectangular enclosure. The house adjoins the boundary wall, and has a Greek portico at the entrance from the road—it contains some fine rooms, but what is considered the greatest novelty are the floors of the verandas upstairs, which are formed of a composition perfectly resembling highly polished bluish marble. Com-

pared with many of those at Shatrunjaya, Girnar, and other *tirthas*, the temple is not large, but it is quite in the style of the larger Jaina temples on the sacred mounts, having a *bamti* or range of small cells around it—in this instance fifty-two, (whence it goes familiarly by the name of the *Bawan*,) each cell containing one or more small marble image of the *Tirthankaras*. The spires of these shrines rise on the boundary wall of the enclosure and contribute largely to the imposing appearance of the whole. The temple itself is of two stories, with elaborate porches on three sides, that in front crowned by a large dome,—the other two and the principal mandap covered with the usual *kalas* roof. Behind the *mandap* rise the three spires of the shrine. The whole is elaborately finished, but somewhat jealously guarded. The entrance to the outer court, on the same side as the porch of the house, is entirely out of keeping with the architecture of the temple, being a poor Doric gateway.

Nearly a mile farther east is *Asarwa*, to which we pass through luxuriant fields of grain where once a teeming population dwelt. It has two old *wáns* or wells, the larger and more elaborate is known as *Dada Harir's wav* or *Dhai* (Nurse) *Harir's* well. It is 196 feet in length, and at the eastern end has a domed canopy, from which a descent of eight steps leads to a gallery covered above; a second flight of nine steps leads to another gallery; and a third of eight steps to the lower,—a little above the level of the surface of the water. On a level with

each landing a ledge runs along the sides and leads to other galleries crossing the *wav* at intervals. At the principal well—which is an octagon near the west end—spiral stairs lead down, from beneath small cupolas on each side, to the level of the water. At the western extremity there is an irrigation *baudi* 20 feet in diameter. The walls of the octagonal well are elaborately sculptured. The whole is said to be an imitation of the famous *wav* at Adalaj, about nine miles to the north of this, built about the same time by *Radhabai*, the wife of Raja Virsani,—or, as another tradition reports, by the sister of *Bai Harir*, and a concubine of the king,—whilst this one was constructed, by *Reshem*, the daughter of a Grasia, after her conversion to Islam, called *Bai Harir*, who vowed to construct it if she could attract the notice of Sultan Mahmud Begadha, to one of whose children she was nurse. She also built, it is said, the adjoining masjid and tomb in which she was buried.[9] There are two inscriptions on it—one in Sanskrit in the first gallery, of which the following is the substance :—

Salutation to the creator of the world! Salutation to the lord of the waters, Varuna, the bearer of the form of all living creatures, and the witness of all good deeds! May the great active power (*Parashakti*) be victorious, the mother of the three worlds, bearing the name of *Kundajini*, and whose feet gods and men always salute in the form of wells (*vapi*). I bow to Viswakarma, the bestower of all desires, through whose favour all are enabled to perform their works. All Hail! In the beautiful and illustrious city of Ahmada-

bad in Gujarat, while the renowned and victorious Sultan *Mahmud* was ruling, the lady *Shri Harira*, wielding the sole power in the inner apartments of the palace of the king, caused the king, out of his love of performing his duty, to erect a *wava* (*wapi*) in *Harirapura*, to the north-east of the great city, on Monday the 13th of the light half of the fortunate month of Pausha in the year Samvat 1556 or Shak 1421 (*i.e.* A.D. 1499) for the use of the eighty-four lakhs of thirsty living beings, chief among which are men, beasts, birds, and trees. Seeing the profound collection of *amrit*-like water in this *Wáva*, the (*Kshirodana*) sea of milk there took up his abode. May this *Wava* remain unchanged while the sun and moon endure, to nourish oviparous sweat-born, and viviparous creatures. The money spent in building the pond was 3,29,000 pieces.* The exalted and pious lady *Harira*, the chief of all the advisers of the king *Mahmud*, caused this well to be erected for the use of mankind. May this *wava* attract the love of all as long as sun and moon exist. . *varvaru*. . . This *wava* is called *Durganipunya*. . . This *wava* is superior to hundreds of other *wavas*. . . The lady named *Shri Harira*, who made irrevocable gifts for the good of the world, caused this well to be built. While the well was a-building there were as superintendent *Malik Bin-Ahmad*, who was obedient to the commands of the great king and two *gajas* (?), the Vaishya *Sutravira* and the servant *Suhdava Shri Giranama Madamhamasaya*, and *Mahamvira*.†

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* Briggs says 'Mehmudis,' which would make the cost about Rs. 1,53,000; but the coin does not appear to be named in the inscription. See *Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 218.

† Translated by Mr. Ghelabhái Manikiái Laiwala, B. A., from a copy procured for me by Rao Saheb Mahiputrám Rupram Lilkanth of Ahmadabad.

On the north side of the gallery there is an Arabic inscription of which Briggs gives an erroneous version, but of which the purport is that "the sacred and beneficial water of this place, the splendid dharmashala for travellers enclosed on four sides by carved and painted walls, and a plantation of fruit trees with their fruit, and a well—a reservoir of water for the use of mankind and cattle were erected in the reign of the Sultan of the Sultans of the age, established by the grace of God and the Faith (*Islam*)—*Abu'l Fat'h Mahmud Shah* son of Mahmud Shah son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffir Shah the Sultan,—May God perpetuate his kingdom! Dated the metropolis of the kingdom the 2nd of *Jamadi-u'l-awwal*, in the 26th year of the reign."*

The other well, a little to the north of it, is *Mata Bhavani's*—taking its name from a small shrine of the Mata on the lower gallery. It is probably the only work that now exists near the city of older date than the time of Ahmad Shah.

* Translated by my friend Mr. Sorabji Merwanji from a copy sent by Mr. Mahiputram Kupram. If the date A. D. 1439 is correct, this was the 41st year of Mahmud Begadha.

VII.—AHMADABAD TO JETALWASNA.

Early in the morning I had called on Rao Saheb Mahiputram Rupram Lilkanth, a well known Nagar Brahman of the Vadanagara division, who several years ago had the courage to visit England, and he readily sent for the Gaikwad's Vakil, who through Col. Barr's kindness, had received instructions from Baroda to furnish an escort and letters to the headmen at the different stages on the route, and he agreed also to employ conveyance for me. Mr. Mahiputram then took me to the *Nagar Sheth*, to whom I had a note, and who was very obliging. On returning from Asarwa, I found my new acquaintances had not forgotten their promises: the *Sheth* had kindly sent me letters to influential merchants at Siddhapur and Pattan, and the *Vakil*, the promised letters, with the escort, shigram, and luggage cart; and at dusk I left Ahmadabad for Kalol, a distance of about seventeen miles northwards.

Starting from Kalol next morning soon after 8 o'clock—as early as a luggage cart could be got ready,—I passed on through a country beautifully wooded and showing promise of fine crops, with here and there pretty *jhils* or lakes, some of which, to the west and north at least, abound in waterfowl. The roads are generally enclosed by hedges of cactus, which however are far from parallel—so that sometimes for long distances two carts would

have difficulty in passing one another, whilst occasionally the hedges recede thirty yards or so from each other. The roads are all sandy, and progress over them is slow. Past Kalol I came upon a low wall by the wayside, breast high, and three or four yards in length, carefully plastered, with one or two small recesses for lights, and hanging upon it by threads and lying at the foot a large collection of little figures of horses, made of white and red rags and stuffed inside. The shigram lad and the *sawars*—Musalmans—could afford no information except that they were 'offerings.' Can this be one of the many relics of Scythic worship that linger among Kolis, Bhills, and other aboriginal tribes in this country?

Passing Panshar, 4½ miles, and Warsman, 11 miles, between 2 and 3 o'clock I reached Langnaj, 14 miles from Kalol. The kos here is only about 1½ mile; hence Langnaj, though only 31 miles from Ahmadabad, is reckoned nearly 10 kos from Kalol. On the north it has a fine *jhil* or *talao*, to the west of which, on a rising ground, is the travellers' bangla—a much better furnished one than that at Kalol. The patel, a decent-like old man, was very obliging, and without previous notice got everything ready in so short a time that in little more than two hours I was again on the way. The evening was delightfully cool and beautiful, reminding one of more northern climes; the hedgerows and cornfields sent forth their pleasant scents, and the doves and other birds their evening calls, and all except

the sandy roads conspired to make walking a pleasure. The country became less wooded but was still as fertile as before, and as the shigram wended slowly onwards, one could not help observing the well-defined shadows cast by Venus, now at her brighest, the unshorn beams of whose fair light in the west made half the stars pale.

From Langnaj to Akaj is 3 miles, thence to Kerwa is 4¼ miles, and from Kerwa to Maisana about 5¼ miles. The last was reached somewhat late, and one of the sawars, who had objected to start from Langnaj when required, because 'it suited not his convenience,' now refused to go to the Thanadar to request a cart to be ready early in the morning, and became impertinent. He then instigated the bullock drivers, as they soon confessed, to make exorbitant demands—that he and this companion might share in the spoil. Such are some of the results of opium-eating among sawars!

The Thanadar at Maisana was by no means very obliging, and though a cart for luggage had been asked to be ready by day-light, it was 9 o'clock before it appeared. The lake at Maisana is a large one to the north of the town. Half an hour's walk brought me across the Khara Nadi or Rupen—perhaps the ancient *Sundaravati*—to Ramasana—where many large black-faced monkeys were sporting about—and forty minutes more to Palatar, where the remains of an elaborate temple are built into a wall. In passing I also got a glimpse of a small neat temple, ap-

parently old, with a platform in front. Progress was soon stopped, however, for conveyances,—the road was impassable,—and turning back I reached Palri, by another route, about 11½ a.m., Chadiyara at 12¼, and Dnyanoj about 1½ p.m.

DNYANOJ is a village of about 600 Hindu and 40 Muhammadan houses. To the south-east of the village is a *talao*, once much larger, as shown by the ruined sluices and part of the embankment at some distance from its shore; but the dam at the lower end was swept away a few years ago. The sluices are three circular openings, each about 4 feet diameter, in a piece of masonry built evidently of the ruins of old temples. In the village, on a mound of brick, stands a fragment of the old temple of *Kesari-ke kul Devi Mata*, similar to one at Palri. On the margin of the *talao* is the temple of *Kemla Mata*—the *Kul Devi* of the Modh Chaturvedi Brahmans, to whom belongs the Mukhi Patel—an obliging old man but with a dialect of his own. This temple is about a century old, but then it was a reconstruction of an older building, and the old stones have not always been got to fit exactly. The vestibule is good—of the Jaina pattern—the side pillars double and with joint capitals. To the north of the village there is a modern Shaiva temple beside an old *wav* of three stories, but, like Dada Harir's and others, said to have been of *seven*.

Whilst enjoying my afternoon repast under a tree, my attention was attracted by the dexterity displayed by a woman in unwinding cotton thread

from a reel to the length for a web. With a rod, forked with a piece of wire on the end, she carried the thread twice round a pentagon formed by pegs driven into the ground, and each carrying two pins, deftly placing the thread each time on the proper pin, and doubling it round the single pin of a sixth peg outside the circuit, thus making the length of the warp about twice the perimeter of the pentagon. The simple ingenuity of the whole contrivance and the dexterity with which she cast the thread with one hand, while she wheeled round and kept the reel revolving in the other, suggested how interesting it would be to have a careful description of the handicrafts of India.

When preparing to start, I was surprised to see a large procession—the patel and all the elders of his people, with no small proportion of the youth—issuing from the village. They sat down in line, and sent one of the *sawars* to request a hearing. A poor man, of low caste, had killed a fish; the Banias and Brahmans charged him with killing what belonged to them, and demanded an enormous fine: the poor man could never pay it. What was my opinion?—they would submit to it. I asked how the fish could be theirs?—they never bought it. Was it not *Parmèshwar's?* "True true!" said all. Well then, if it had been theft or injury to them, would not the Patel appointed by Government punish the criminal? "Certainly." But if it is *sin* against *Parmèshwar*, He has not given authority to the Patel to punish it,—the fish could not have

taken the man's bait without His permission, therefore why interfere with His government? All exclaimed "the word is good Saheb!" and I started from Dnyanoj about 5 p. m. with the air now cool and bracing, and meeting rural groups of men, women, and children returning home from the fields. A walk was most enjoyable in the dusk of a beautiful evening, until the short twilight gave place to darker shades. It was after 10 p. m. when I reached Jetalwasna, there to rest for the night.

VIII.—UNJÁ AND THE KADAVÁ KULAMBIS, &c.

A little before sunrise I started from Jetalwasna ; the morning was cool and fresh, the doves cooing in the trees, and all the birds alive, but as the sun rose they gave place to the call of husbandmen and the creak of the water-wheels at the wells. The country is still very fertile, and abounds with fine trees, especially about the villages. My walk continued past Athod, 2 miles, to Unja, 5 miles. This last is a large and evidently a very thriving village ; nowhere else hereabouts are such herds of buffaloes to be seen.

UNJA is the head-quarters, and probably the original seat in Gujarat, of the Kadava Kunbis,—one of the three divisions of the important cultivating caste. The *Kunbis* or *Kulambis* are pure Shudras, and in Gujarat scrupulously abstain from animal food, regarding all life as sacred, and accounting it sacrilegious to destroy even the most venomous snake. This they have no doubt learnt of the Jainas. Tradition says they came from Marwad or Hindustan, in the times of the Rajput kings of Gujarat. They hold portions of land paying revenue, and are styled *Patels* in contradistinction to *Grasias*. They are divided into three sects : the Lewas, Kadavas, and Arjanas. The first two eat together but do not intermarry, and neither associates with the

Arjanas. The Leva Kulambis have their seat at Balisanu, 12 miles west of Unja and 6 south-east of Anhillawada.

The Kadavas are said to number 500 houses or a third of the population of Unja. They have a tale of their own respecting their origin. Shiva, say they, in a long past age, was performing austerities here, while Umia or Parvati, having no better employment, amused herself with making images of men and women, and by the time her lord had finished his ascetic engagements, she had fashioned fifty-two (*bawan*) pairs. She then asked him to perpetuate her name and fame by inspiring them with life. This he did, and so originated the fifty-two sub-divisions of the Kadavas, for whom he founded the village, where they installed Mother Umiaji as their *Kul Devi* or patron goddess of the tribe. Hence her temple here is of no small importance in the eyes of the race, and is visited by them from the most distant localities in fulfilment of their vows. The present edifice is a large one, erected some ten or twelve years ago, in the outskirts of the village, and is surrounded by a lofty brick enclosure with round towers at the corners and projecting windows in the sides. The temple is built of a fine grained stone, and is very like those of the Jainas in structure, with a deep base, raising the floor considerably above the level of the court. The *mandap* is about 25 feet square inside, covered by a dome which rises from eight pilasters, and is comparatively plain, but was intended to be ornamented by *gopis* and

other figures, as in some of the Girnar temples. The floor is also unfinished, being only partly paved with marble slabs, and has a traphole in a corner leading down to a cellar. The temple faces the east, and has porches also on the north and south sides, the domes of all three neatly carved, with pendents in the centres, and the columns supporting the north and east ones very elaborate. Between the pillars of these porches and also over the corners of the mandap is introduced the ornamental *toran* or arch, so common in Jaina temples. On a sort of shelf projecting from the wall, on the right side of the north entrance, carved in entire relief, is a group the obscenity of which only indicates too plainly the grossness of the religious ideas of the untutored mind. The *sanctum* is but a small apartment, paved with marble, inlaid with a *satya* or *swastika*—a mystic figure familiar to Buddhists and Jainas, and "the symbol of blessing and good omen." At the entrance to the shrine Ganpati occupies a niche on the left, and Bhairava another on the right; inside Umiaji is represented about two feet high, on a raised platform of silver, under a canopy supported by four pillars of the same. Behind her, the wall is covered with looking-glass. Her face and crown only are visible from the clothes arranged about her—a yellowish skirt, blue jacket, silver necklace, and large red silk shawl thrown over the arms, with a cloth of silver tissue behind her stuck up against the looking-glass. Here she is ministered to by a Modh Brahman.

Umia, they say, arranged for the Kadavas their peculiar custom as to marriages, ordering them to enquire in her temple every eleventh year as to when they should celebrate the marriage rites of their tribe. Accordingly, early in the eleventh year from the last general marriage-day, certain Brahman *gurus* and *joshis* with the two principal hereditary *patels* repair to the temple of the goddess, and after worshipping Umiaji and reading the *Chandipat*, they draw lots to decide whether the next marriage-day is to be during that year or the next. This done, the *joshis* fix the precise day by astrological computations, always finding it in the months of Chaitra, Vaishakh or Jyeshth (March to May) when the Kulambis are least occupied in their agricultural labours; and, for such as from sickness or other causes may not be able to celebrate their daughters' marriages on that day, they find a second lucky day about a fortnight after the first. Brahmans are then sent out in different directions to spread the welcome tidings, and everywhere of course fare sumptuously. Those sent to Ahmadabad are received with great ceremony by the pattidar or patel at Asarwa. That all may be fortunate they find a lucky date for publishing the news, when they meet beside Dada Harir's *wáv*, worship Ganpati and the Mata in due form, and then the patel opens and reads the notice of the propitious days. The Brahmans are then feasted, and *kankotris* or notices are sent to the Kadava Kulambis far and near. All the girls of the caste over forty days old

must be married on one or other of the fixed days. One may imagine the stir, the gossip, the demand for husbands! But husbands or none the girls must be married, and so a proxy bridegroom is sometimes set up and married to a number of girls, each paying him ten or twelve rupees for the privilege; but immediately after this ceremony the bride bathes and enters a state of nominal widowhood until an eligible suitor turns up, when the parents give her in *natra* or second marriage. But more frequently still, even the proxy is dispensed with, and little girls are married to bouquets of flowers, which are treated as actual bridegrooms in the ceremonies and then thrown into a well, the brides thenceforward considering themselves widows.* This they call *phul no dharo*, or marriage to a "bundle of flowers." Of course, wherever arraugements for real marriages can be made, they are all celebrated on the appointed evening, but in the case of very young children part of the ceremonies only are gone through as a formal betrothal, to be completed when they come to maturity. My informants could not agree as to the date of the last marriages, and the Brahman had gone into the village, but it seems to have been nine or ten years ago, since which time there have been no first marriages in the caste, nor will there be any till the next date is fixed.

At the other end of the village and on the margin of the *talao*, is the *Dudhli* or *Dudhio-kuo*, an old cir-

* Conf. Forbes, *Ras Mála*, vol. II. p. 341.

cular well of considerable depth, built of brick, and which has once had a projecting ledge at the mouth forming an octagon. The water is yellowish—whence probably it has derived its name, and to the south of it is a small temple dedicated to *Mahadeva Dudheshwar*. But, like every old work in the country, this well has got its legend; and such legends, if collected in numbers, would be interesting as casting light upon the intelligence and state of feeling among the people who originate and preserve them. Legends grow up around historic names, and the Jaina chronicler Merutunga mentions that in the time of Siddha Raja there was a famous patel at Unja, who bore the title of the king's uncle, whilst Forbes alludes* to a "local tradition, still preserved, that *Mainal Devi* was sheltered before her marriage by Himalo, the headman at Unja." The tradition runs in this way: when the mother of Mainal Devi passed through Unja on a pilgrimage, she was received by Himalo patel, at whose house Mainal was born, and by him she was betrothed to Karna Deva, the Prince of Gujarat. Karna, however, long delayed the marriage, but when he did celebrate it, the *mandapa* or marriage pavilion, they say, extended all the way from Unja to Pattan; and when the marriage party came, the patel filled a well with milk and sugar to entertain the guests. A *karbhari* of the king's, fearing the influence Himalo might now aspire to, bethought him of getting the patel into a difficulty, and advised

* *Ras Mala*, vol I. p. 178.

Karna to ask the *Dudhio-kuo* in dowry. Of course it was granted, and at parting the minister got the king to say, "Send the well to Pattan." The karbhari insisted on obedience to the royal mandate and Himalo had to make the best of it. He got so many oxen yoked to the well that they reached in a line to the gate of the royal city, and getting admittance to the Raja, he said the well had come to the gate but refused to enter unless a certain *wav* came out to meet it. Karna, probably seeing how matters stood, ordered the karbhari to send the *wav*. Himalo could now, in turn, insist on the officious minister's obedience, and before he settled the matter made him feel the wisdom of the adage that bids "let sleeping dogs lie."

At Unja, we are in the immediate neighbourhood of the original seats of the *Nágar Brahmans*, for fourteen miles south-east from it, and the same distance north-east from Maisana, is *Visalnagar*, by some said to have been founded by Visal Deva, the *Waghela* prince (A.D. 1243-1261), but other accounts attribute its foundation to Visal Deva, the *Chauhan* of Ajmir, after a great battle with "Baluk Rao* the Chalukya," about A.D. 1046. It gives name to one of the six castes of Nagars, many of the members of which are followers of Swami Narayan. Nine miles north-east of it, and nineteen east of Unja, is *Vadanagar*, which

* *Baluk-rao* seems to have been only a title, for the sovereign of Gujarat from A.D. 1021 to 1079 was Bhima Deva, the son of Nagarája, and grandson of Chámunda.

gives name to the most important of the six principal divisions, and one which has produced many men of great intelligence and ability, some of whom have risen to the highest influence in the native states of Gujarat. Native accounts say that when Visaldeva founded Visalnagar he summoned many Brahmans to a sacrifice. Most of those from Vadanagar, however, refused to receive *dakshina* from his hands, but some accepted rolled up leaves inscribed with the grants of villages. For this they were outcasted by the puritan Vadanagaras, and thus originated the *Visalnagaras*. In a similar manner arose the *Sathodra*, *Chitroda*, and other sects. Vadanagar must have been a place of great note in former times; Abu'l Fazl mentions it as an ancient city which "has in it three hundred idolatrous temples, each of which has a reservoir of water," and whose "inhabitants are principally Brahmans." It probably occupies the site of *Anandapura*, mentioned as a seat of different Nagar *gotras* or families, as early as A.D. 226, and famous in the Sutras of the Jainas;* it was visited also early in the seventh century by Hiuen Thsang, who found it very populous, and many of the inhabitants of the school *Tching-liang-pu* or of the Sammatiyas†—by which doubtless he designates the *Jainas*, as a Jaina informs me they still so style themselves from their doctrine which

* See Dalpatram Dayabhai, *Jnati-Nibandha*, pp. 48-50.; and Stevenson's *Kalpa Sutra* pp. 2 and 15.

† S. Julien, *Memoires de Hiouen Thsang*, tom. II. p. 164.

they call *Sammati*. And the *Sammatiyas* belonged to the *Hinayána* or sect of the 'lesser translation.'

Lassen conjecturally places Anandapura at *Ahmadnagar* on the Halmati, a tributary of the Saharmati, and twenty-four miles south-east of Vadanagar. *Chitrod*, which gives name to another of the Nagar sects, is nineteen miles north of Vadanagar, but the seats of the *Sathodras*, *Prashnoras*, and *Krishnoras* are not certainly known.

From Unja it is seven miles and a-half to the travellers' bangla on the banks of the beautiful *Sarasvati*, opposite to Siddhapur.

IX.—SIDDHAPUR, AND THE RUDRA MÁLÁ.

SIDDHAPUR is prettily situated on a rising ground on the north bank of the river sacred to *Saraswati*, the goddess of speech and of arts. At the point where the city stands, the stream—which flows generally in a south-westerly direction—makes a bend towards the east—facing the rising sun, and is there of peculiar sanctity. Thus the bard sings of it,—

Tirath bhumipavan Siddhakshetra subhasár,
Nirmal nir vahe Saraswati sada mokshko dwar, &c.

"A *Tirtha*, a place to make holy, is the good Siddha Kshetra,
Where flows Sarasvati's pure stream—ever beatitude's door.
A city three worlds to purify, by Siddhs ever worshipped,
Gods, Rishis, and men entertain the desire to live there.
And there dwell *devas* unnumbered, as a *tirtha* regarding it,—
Of Kasi, Gaya, Godavari, and all other *tirthas*, the best;
Where Kardam and Dehuti lived, and Kapila was born.
Here is Bindusarovar's pure fount, and Matrugaya;
Applied to the bodies of men degraded and fallen, it washes
their myriads of sins.
Here is Prachi Mahádev, whose renown by Ved and Purana
is sung:
Of all *Tirthas*, the essence—it is named Kapilashram."

The olden name of this holy place appears to have been *Shristhala*, and in the tenth century (A. D. 943) Mula Raja, the founder of the Solanki dynasty of Gujarat, began to embellish it by the erection of the *Rudra Mala*, a famous temple of Shiva, of which the gigantic fragments that still

remain impress the beholder with admiration at the scale and grandeur of the conception. In his youth Mula Deva had slain his maternal uncle, usurped his throne, and murdered the whole of his mother's kindred ; and in old age his crimes hung heavily on his mind. He made pilgrimages and courted the favour of Brahmans from far and near. To a band of them he gave *Shristhala*, and committing the kingdom to his son Chamund, he retired thither to end his days in their company (A. D. 996). But the Rudra Mala was still incomplete, nor was it finished till A. D. 1145. Colonel Todd mentions an inscription to this effect. The inscription I did not find ; but in a *Kavita* or ballad, to be referred to presently, there occurs almost a literal version of it,—

"In Samvat ten (?) hundred, begun by Maharaj Muladev,
In Samvat twelve hundred and two, Siddharaj completed the work ;
In Samvat twelve hundred two, Magh month, Krishna paksh,
On Monday the fourteenth, in the Nakshatra Shravan and Varyan Yoga,
Siddharaj, in the Rudra Mal, Shivashankar established."

To Siddharaja and his mother, Mainal Devi, tradition attributes the erection of many splendid edifices, and is doubtless correct in so doing : it was truly the Augustan age of architecture in Gujarat ; but to what circumstance we owe the completion of the stupendous pile begun by his ancestor, we cannot tell. Legend says two Parmars from Malwa, named Govindas and Madhavdas, took up their haunt among the rush grass that covered the neigh-

bourhood of the Rudra Mala, and lived by plunder. There they found the foundations of a temple and a *Shiva linga*, and said that in the night they had seen *devas* and *apsáras*. Of this they informed Siddharaja, and it led to the erection of the temple. Whilst the building was going on, the Brahmans and the Charons quarrelled, and the former having the ear of the king, got the latter expelled from the precincts of Siddhapur and Pattan. When the building was finished and the consecration ceremonies over, the king went to inspect the sculptures; among the many groups he asked the meaning of, there was one which none of the Brahmans could satisfactorily explain. A certain Khawas hinted that if they had a Charon he would soon expound the affair. Siddha Raja ordered one to be sent for, who looking at the sculpture of a woman with a lamp in her hand bending over another in travail, at once said,—

"The mother takes the lamp,—bending she looks down,
Like Siddharaj Jesingh, has any been, or will be—born!"

The king was pleased, and rewarded the Charon, which emboldened him to say that on account of the very talents which pleased the king, the Brahmans were his enemies, and that without offence his caste had been thrust out. Thus, says the story, the Charons recovered their rights.

"The Raja," writes Ali Muhammad Khan, "on signifying his intention of building the above mentioned temple, requested the astrologers, it is said, to appoint a fortunate hour; and they at this time predicted the destruction of the building" by

a Muslim invader.* Then Siddha Raja caused images of 'horse lords' and other great kings to be placed in the temple, and "near them a representation of himself in the attitude of supplication, with an inscription praying that, even if the land was laid waste, this temple might not be destroyed." Then was the name of Shristhala changed for that of Siddhapur, in commemoration of his restoration of the city and shrine.†

But the evil day came: Ala-u'd-din Khilji, surnamed *Khunin*, or 'the bloody,' ascended the throne of Delhi in 1296, and sent an army under Almas Beg Alaf Khan and Nusrat Khan Jalesri, and "fulfilled the obligations of the law by converting the temple into a *masjid* with minars." Todd quotes a couplet recording its destruction:—"In Samvat 1353 (A. D. 1296), came the barbarian Ala: the Rudra-Mala he levelled, carrying destruction amongst the lords of men." And again, in 1415, the Muhammadan historian of Gujarat tells us that Ahmad Shah "destroyed the Hindu temple of Siddhapur."‡

The principal fragments that now remain of this once splendid shrine are five in number,—shut in among houses, which have been built over the greater part of the area it once occupied. The *Kirti Stambha*, or triumphal arch—which was nearly perfect only a few years ago—has now been denuded

* Bird's *Mirat Ahmadi*, p. 157.
† Forbes, *Ras Mala*, vol. i. p. 116.
‡ Bird's *Mirat Ahmadi*, pp. 168 and 188.

of the principal sculptures in the pediment, and of the beautiful *toran* or garland-like arch that sprung from the capitals of the columns and touched the architrave above,—the architrave itself resting on dwarf columns that rise from the capitals of the great pillars. From the ground to the architrave is about twenty-four feet; the pediment rises perhaps ten feet above this; and the whole has been finished in the most ornate style of Hindu art. It is now much defaced about the base of the pillars, but it still strikes the visitor as having been a noble piece of masonry. Twelve yards south from it, stand five massive columns, which appear to have formed the east or front porch of the great temple and a pillar of its doorway. They are surmounted by lintels, and still retain their *toranas*; whilst over the inner pair of the portico rise two pillars of the second story, also still supporting their architrave. Other columns may have fallen or been pulled down within the last fifty years, for Todd describes this as "a mass of two stories, each supported by four columns, and the columns of a third story, preserving, without any entablature, their perfect perpendicularity." A huge block lies diagonally across the lintel of the outer columns, and I was told it had fallen there during the earthquake of 1819, which, as Col. Todd learnt, had "thrown down two of the loftiest columns."*

On the bases which support the pillars at the entrance there are inscriptions,—one dated in A. D.

*Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p. 141.

1249; another in 1627; and a third, with the second figure of the date obliterated, which names certain persons as having "placed this column in the great temple of Shri Rudra for the use of the god." But the stones have been used to sharpen instruments upon, until only fragments of these inscriptions can be deciphered. A third portion of these ruins, to the west of the last, consists of four columns in a line, the upper sections of them elaborately carved, and not much defaced; the base, shaft, capital, and bracket of each is a single stone, and over the four lies an architrave, consisting of a single block about four feet square and twenty-six feet in length. Above this are two string courses, and then two plain columns on square bases with rough, square, bracket capitals supporting a lintel under which runs a wooden beam. The height of this is 38 feet; and if the temple was of three stories, as Todd's statements would lead us to conclude it must have been, the *mandap* may have been about sixty feet in height; but tradition reports variously that it had five, six, or even *seven* stories.

Between this and the *Kirti Stambha* are four pillars with three elaborate *toranas*; the architraves over them are also richly carved, as are the two pillars and two pilasters that surmount them, with the entablature above. Lastly, to the west of all the other fragments, is a mosque, consisting of three low domes, apparently the porticoes to three of the small shrines which probably surrounded

the court of the great temple. The columns have been elaborately carved, but all the small human figures have been hewn out; whilst over the domes may still be seen portions of two of the *shikhars* of the shrines; and a fourth small temple, adjoining these on the north, is still pretty entire.

Want of time prevented my attempting to examine what grounds may exist to warrant Forbes's restoration of the plan of this famous temple: but on the evening of my arrival, when questioning some old Brahmans who flocked about me, as to what they had heard of its extent, a young man began to repeat,—

"Thar thamb satasol jame,
Putli adhar sahasra manik moti jade,
Trishahi hazar jari udai patake dhoj," &c.

..... "Columns sixteen hundred adorned it,
Eighteen thousand images set with rubies and pearls,
Gold-tinsel flags floated, and pennons thirty thousand.
Kalases of gold, seventeen hundred decked it out,
Fifty-six lakhs horses and elephants made a line,
Carved screens a lakh and a quarter were there,
And of resting places seven thousand and two hundreds;
Siddharaj Jesinha, for the Rudra Mala Prasad,
Fourteen krors of *Mohors*, for the cost, put on paper."

Here were the words, so far as my memory served, that "Sankla, the chronologist," had "spouted" to Col. Todd in 1822.* On enquiry, I found that this was the nephew of Sankla Jivasukram Padhya, who is still alive, though a very old man; but he was then absent from Siddhapur. It would have

* Tod, *West. India*, p. 142.

been a treat to meet one who, forty-seven years ago, had afforded information to the author of the "Rajasthan." I succeeded, however, in procuring a copy of the *Kavita* (perhaps not a very correct one), from which several extracts have been already given. It is a lengthy composition in various metres, beginning with the praises of *Siddhakshetra* and passing to a grandiloquent account of the greatness of Mula Deva, the foundation of the *Rudra Mala*, the wealth, virtues, and power of Siddha Raja, the grandeur of the *Rudra Mala*, and its overthrow. The following extracts, literally translated, with those already given, will afford some idea of its style :—

Muladev of the Chávada race got the rank of a king;
The beneficent, subject-protector, ever liberal of mind;
Houses, land, and riches he gave, ever good doing to others.
If but a beggar besought him, the request he refused not;
Works of benevolence and charity he was ever performing;
And from all men their distresses he sought to remove;
Cow and Brahman-protector, he was pious, and chief of brave men,
So prospered Muladev Maharaj having over his head the umbrella.
His lustre shone like the sun's, and cooler than even the moon,
Than *Indra* more powerful, and bestowing more pleasure than *Megha*,
Gifts like to *Karna's* he gave, and greater than *Vikram* was he,
To remove the sorrows of others, than Ocean more generous;
Than *Kubera* more wealth he amassed in his dwelling;
Truth, *Harischandra*-like, he observed, and forgave as the Earth;
Greatly admired was the fame of Muladev Maharaj.

Beholding the land of the gods,—to the Maharaj it was pleasing;
Calling Brahmans from far, a glorious work he began,
Wealth untold, land, and clothes he gave, and took up his happy abode.

Then summoning all *Vipras*, villages and *gards* he bestowed,
To eat and to drink gave them welcome, and to high office raised them,
Honour increased to the Brahmans;—his name through four ages endures.
Well was Rudra Mala begun by Muladev Maharaj,
Years many fled but unfinished still was the work:

. . . . . .

But then in the line of Solank came Saddharo Raja,
Rudra Mala who finished, the *Pratishtha* performing.
By the birth of a *Sidda*, Shiv an *avatar* became;
Ruled he at Pattanpur—the god-like, the generous.
In the race of Solanki was born the excellent Saddharo,
Dharm-supporter, and brave, with a mind ever turned to beneficence,
His people's protector, to good men a lake always filled with water,
To the Brahmans a rest, to all females a brother;
Politics well understood he,—and wealth—at his house was abundance.
Like *Lanka*, his city was beauteous with youth in their bloom;
There dwelt the eighteen varied castes all prosperous and happy,—
The Brahman reciting his Vedas, the Kshattriya brave in the battle,
The Vaishya devoted to trading, to service the Shudra,
One the other excelled, enjoying their wealth and prosperity,
Thieves and backbiters—how could they dwell there?
Where the commands of Siddharaj were proclaimed?

. . . . . .

Rudra Mala shone like the Kailas of Shiva,
Gems, rubies, and diamonds set in it sparkled like lamp-flames,
Covered with gold like the mountain of Mera;
Inlaid with gems were the doors of it,
Festoons filled with pearls were there;
Studded with screens and with lattices,
The *Mandaps* on its four sides were rendered attractive,

. . . . . .

Four doors on four sides, and *Mandaps* three, I describe;

Other shrines all around it, numberless shine;
The varied labours appear to the eye most enchanting,
In the midst, to Great Rudra, eleven shrines he erected,
Siddhasinh with the Brahmans together there meeting,
For its name 'Rudra Mala' established,—
Gananana in the midst sounds the nobat, the cymbal *gananana*,
Gananana re-echoes the bell, till the ear is stunned with the sound.

In 1415 Ahmad Shah, as already mentioned, completed the destruction of the Rudra Mala, and we hear little more of Siddhapur, till the monsoon of 1573, when the Great Akbar, after taking possession of Gujarat, encamped at it till Vadanagar had been taken and Aulia Khan seized by the troops sent out for that purpose under Raja Bhagwandas. At that period Abu'l Fazl speaks of it as still 'a great place of religious resort.'

Opposite to Siddhapur is a large, square, imposing building on the very brink of the Sarasvati, forming a *dharmashala* or a sort of monastery of *Kevalpuri gosavis—Atits* of the Shaiva persuasion. In the city are several temples, among others a large one of *Mahadeva Siddheswar*, built by Babaji, Diwan about the commencement of the present century; one of *Mahadeva Govind*; and a third of *Nilakantha Mahadeva*. There is also a temple belonging to the sect of Swami Narayana—though I was told they number only six households in the city.

On a marble slab at the entrance to the *masjid*, formed of some of the shrines of the Rudra Mala,

is an inscription in Persian and Devanagari characters, recording that "in 1055 Hijri, Samvat 1702, (A.D. 1645) in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Saheb Alami Adal, knowing that the Lord (*Saheb*) will in all works give success (*siddha*), at Siddhapur Ali Askari Adali Saheb built the *Adal Ganja*, to provide facilities to those buying and selling." And outside the city there is a ruined *wav* or well, on which is also an inscription in Persian, beautifully engraved on a marble slab, the greater part of which was covered up by the earth until I had it excavated. It runs thus :—

[*In the name of*] God the Greatest.

When this well was built at Siddhapur in the Inam of Salalatu'l-Umra-il-Azam Mirza Muhammad Anwah, the son of the gracious governor Azam Khan, with much diligence and by the most noble and fortunate performer of the pilgrimage (*Haj*) it was successfully finished in the blessed month of Ramazan of the year 1010. (Feb. 1602). To Allah I commit my design for guidance, and after that to the proper guardianship of Yamlikha,* Makasalimna, Kashfutat, Tab-yunus, Azarfatyunus, Kasha-fatyunus, Yu-unsibus "*ismi kalbahum Kitimir.*"

The Writer Lutfullah.†

* These appear to be the names of certain Muhammadan guardian spirits.

† Translated by Mr. Sorabji Merwanji.

X.—SIDDHAPUR TO PATTAN—THE OLD BALHARA CAPITAL.

I left Siddhapur about noon on Saturday, the fourth day from Ahmadabad, and was soon at *Delhali*, 2 kos along the north road to Pattan. Near this is an old octagonal *kunda* or small tank, with a group of old and apparently almost deserted temples beside it. The well is called *Sandila Kunda*, in honour of Sandila Rishi; and facing the tank is a small shrine with a marble figure said to be that of the *Vyasa*, bearded and holding a leaf of a book in his hand. Beside this is a range of very old cells, known as the work of the five *Pandavas*, and which, doubtless, formed part of the surroundings of some very ancient temple, possibly a Buddhist one. There are also other remains of brick, for this is a brickmaking district, and must have been so from a very early epoch, consequently few traces remain of the style of its ancient architecture. In the midst of these vestiges is a modern brick temple, moderately large, but without any artistic pretensions, and with a very obscene group, in almost entire relief, on the outer wall of it,—an index of the degrading tendency of a carnal priest-guided idolatry.

The country between Siddhapur and Pattan was much barer, and less carefully cultivated than that

hitherto passed through. Taringa and the outspurs of Abu were clearly in sight, at no very great distance to the north-east, reminding one of many an old legend. The road led on past the villages of Vanasan and Punasan, Diodadu, Kamliwada, Hajipur, and Runi, to the terminus of my journey—*Anhillawáḍá Pattan*—the ancient capital of *Wanaraja*, and the famed Chawada and Solanki dynasties.

It was late before I arrived; the head man had gone to Baroda, but I requested the karkun to open and read the letter I had brought, and which might have secured me some attention: this man, however, had either no inventive resources or did not care to be disturbed in any way. He could do nothing! there was a shed and an empty godown, I might sleep in either! I had waited a full hour and more for this: so I ordered my bullocks to be put in the shed, told my servants they might take the godown if they wished, and made my own arrangements for sleeping. Early next morning I sent to a Nagar gentleman, and was taken at once to an empty garden house, provided with chairs, &c., and above all with the services of a client of his—Mama Shankar-ram Jankiram Choksi—an old Nágar Brahman, of the Vadanagara division, who had been Mr. Forbes's guide some seventeen years ago. This man was full of information about the city, antiquarian and legendary; he had met with Mr. Williams at Bharoch about 1809, had first visited Bombay in 1816, had been connected with Major Jervis in the sur-

vey, had twice met Baji Rao Peshwa in the days of his glory, and had many reminiscences of Leek, Forbes, and others. He had drawn a map of Pattan, with some interesting restorations of historic localities, on which he appeared to set much value. Old as he was, he seemed ready for any exertion in order to show some old historic site or explain an antiquarian difficulty.

Col. Tod claims the credit of having discovered, in 1822, in the suburbs of Pattan, the remains of the ancient *Nahrwalah*, which the illustrious D'Anville had eagerly longed to identify.* But, as is usual with the erudite Colonel, he must trace the connexion of the title *Balhara*, given to its sovereigns, not only with the *Baleokouras* of Ptolemy, but with every name, from *Balabhi* to *Balkh*, that bears any resemblance to it. Of the correctness of the identification there cannot be a doubt, but Rennell, whom Tod often quotes, had made it long before.† Albiruni describes its situation with accuracy, and calls it by the native name of *Anhalwarah*‡; and Edrisi says from Bharoch "to *Seimur* is reckoned two marches, and to *Nahrawara* eight, through a flat country, where they travel in wheeled carriages. In all Nahrawara and its environs, people

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* He conjectured it must have stood where Ahmadabad now is.—*Eclaircissemens*, p. 74.

† Rennell, *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan*, 3rd ed. (1793) p. 227, and conf. Pennant, *View of Hindustan* (1798) vol. I. p. 65.

‡ See p. 29. He mentions that, from Anhalwareh to *Somanat*, on the sea shore is 50 parasangs, and that *Ballabha* is about 30 yojanas south from it.—Reinaud, *Frag. Arab. & Pers.* pp. 111, 142.

never travel otherwise than in carriages drawn by bullocks.* These vehicles are furnished with fastenings and straps, and serve for the transport of merchandise."

But, as Dr. Bhau Daji, at a recent meeting of the Bombay Asiatic Society,† has called in question this identification, and asserted that "the *Balhara* dynasty of Arab writers" is "the *Yadava* dynasty of the Dekhan and Central India," it may be as well to hear what more Edrisi has to say about the Balharas of Nahrawara :—

"This last" (Seimur), he says,‡ "is under the king, styled *Balhara*. His kingdom is large, populous, very commercial, extremely fertile, and pays large import duties, so that this prince is immensely rich. The country yields abundance of aromatics and perfumes. The title *Balhara* signifies 'king of kings,' and is hereditary here; as in other parts of India, when a king ascends the throne, he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heir. This is a constant custom from which these people never vary."

And in confirmation of this last statement he quotes from the work of Obeid-allah-ben-Khordadbeh.§ In another place he writes,—

"As for the city of *Nahrawara*, it is governed by a great prince who takes the title of *Balhara*. He has an army and elephants, worships the image of

* Abu'l Fazl says "Pattan produces oxen that will travel *fifty* kos in half a day!"—*Ayin Akbari*, vol. II. p. 65.

† On 13th January 1870.

‡ *Geographie d'Edrisi* par M. Jaubert, tom. I. pp. 172,173.

§ Died circa 842 A.D.

Buddha, wears a crown of gold on his head, and dresses in rich stuffs; he often rides on horseback, especially once a week, accompanied only by females, to the number of a hundred, gorgeously dressed, wearing on their feet and hands circlets of gold and silver, and their hair braided. They give themselves to amusements and mock fights whilst the king precedes them. The Vazirs and officers of the troops never accompany the king except when he goes to fight with those who rebel, or with the neighbouring kings who may encroach upon his territory. He possesses many elephants, and in them consists the principal strength of his army. His power is hereditary as well as the title of *Balhara*, which signifies *king of kings*. The city of Nahrawara is frequented by great numbers of Musalman merchants who visit it on business. They are honourably received by the king and his ministers, and enjoy protection and security.

"The Indians are naturally guided by justice, and they do not neglect their business. Their good faith, their loyalty, their fidelity to their engagements are known, and they are so distinguished for these good qualities that people hasten to them from all quarters, so that their country is flourishing and their affairs prosperous. Among other traits characteristic of their love of truth and hatred of vice, this is mentioned:—when any one has a right to exact anything from another, if he meet him, he has only to trace a line in a circle upon the ground, and cause the debtor to enter it (which he has simply to ask him to do) and the debtor will not leave the circle without satisfying his creditor or obtaining remission of the debt.

"The inhabitants of Nahrawara live upon rice, peas, beans, haricots, lentils, maize, fish, and animals dying a

natural death, for they do not kill either birds or other animals. They have a very great regard for oxen, and by a privilege peculiar to that species, they bury them after death. When these animals are enfeebled by age and unfit for work they are set free from all labour, attended to, and fed, without committing charge of them to any one.

"The people of India burn their dead, and do not raise tombs. When the king dies, they build a car of convenient size, raised about two hand-breadths above the earth; on this is placed the catafalque surmounted by a crown; there the body is laid clad in funeral robes, and they convey it thus all through the city, drawn by slaves, the head, divested of the hair, dragging to the ground so that all may see it; a herald goes before and proclaims in the Indian tongue words to this effect. 'People, behold your king! such an one, the son of so and so. He lived happy and powerful for so many years. He is no more: he has let fall from his hands all that he possessed; there remains nothing for him, and he can no more experience ill. Remember that he has shewn you the way, and that you must of necessity follow him.' This said, and all the ceremonies completed, they conduct the corpse to the spot where the bodies of the kings are burnt, and there throw it into the flames. These people do not afflict themselves nor make great lamentations on such occasions.

"In the country of the Balhara, concubinage is allowed to all except with married women. So that a man may have his daughter, his sister, his paternal or maternal aunt, provided she be unmarried."*

* *Géographie d'Edrisi*, tom. I. pp. 176-178.

Whether, then, we derive *Balhara* from the district of *Bhal-khetr*, still known as 'the Bhal,' or from the *Vala* Rajputs, or regard it as being more probably a corruption of *Baluk-rao*—the title again and again applied to the Gujarat sovereign by Bharot Chand* in the "Prithiraj-no Raso," it must be evident that the *Balhara* kings of Masudi, Edrisi, and the other Arab writers, reigned at *Nahrawara* or *Nahrwalah*, which Ferishtah mentions as "better known in these days by the name of *Pattan*;" while Shah Nawaz, speaking of the death of Akbar's great minister Beiram in 1561, says it occurred at *Pattan* "anciently called *Nahrwalah*;" and Abu'l Fazl, Sadik Isfahani, and the author of the *Mirat Ahmadi* all declare Nahrwalah to be *Pattan* or Piran Pattan.

* See Forbes, *Ras Mala* vol. I. pp. 96, 97, and Conf. pp. 174, 293 and 301.

XI.—ANHILLAWAḌA PAṬṬAN—ITS HISTORY.

CONCURRENT tradition assigns the foundation of Anhillawada to *Vana Raja*, of the Chawadá tribe, the chief of a band of freebooters, who established his independence about A.D. 740. In A.D. 745, he built *Anhillapur* or *Anhillawada*, naming it after *Anhil*, one of his followers, to whose local knowledge he had been indebted.* Six Chawada kings in lineal descent succeeded him, ending in Samant Sinha, who died in A.D. 942, and, if we may trust Masudi, these princes bore the title of *Balhara*. Under them and their successors the *Chalukyas*, who took the same title, Anhillawada rose to be one of the most splendid and populous cities of the east. It is thus described in the *Kumarapala Charitra* :—

"Anahillapura was twelve kos in circuit, within which were many temples and colleges; eighty-four *Chaoks* or squares; eighty-four market places, with mints for gold and silver coin. Each class had its separate *mahalla* or quarter, as had every description of merchandise—elephants' tusks, silks, purples, diamonds, pearls, &c. &c.; each had its separate *Chaok*. There was one market place for

* Conf. Bird's *Mirat Ahmadi*, p. 140, and Gladwin's *Ayin Akbari*, vol. II. p. 74.

money-changers ; one for perfumes and unguents ; one for physicians ; one for artizans ; one for goldsmiths, and another for silversmiths ; there were distinct *mahallas* for navigators, for bards, and for genealogists. The eighteen *varan* or castes inhabited the city ; all were happy together. The palace groaned with a multitude of separate buildings—for the armoury, for elephants, for horses and chariots, for the public accountants and officers of state. Each kind of goods had its separate *mandavi* or custom-house, where the duties of export, import, and sale were collected—as for spices, fruits, drugs, camphors, metals, and everything costly of home or of foreign growth. It is a place of universal commerce. The daily duties amount to one lakh of *tankhas* (about ₹5000). If you ask for water they give you milk. There are many Jaina temples, and on the banks of a lake is a shrine to Seheslinga Mahadeva. The population delights to saunter amidst the groves of *champa*, *punaj*, *thal* (palmyra), *jambu* (rose-apples), *chandan* (sandal trees) *mango*, &c. &c., with every variegated *vela* or creeper, and fountains whose waters are *amrit*. Here discussions (*badhu*) take place on the *Vedas*, carrying instructions to the listener. There are plenty of *Bohoras*, and in Virgam there are also many. There is no want of Jaina priests, or of merchants true to their word and skilled in commerce ; and many schools for *Vyakaran* (or grammar). Anhillawada is (a *nirsamudra*)—a sea men. If you can measure the waters of the ocean, then may you attempt to

count the number of souls. The army is numerous, nor is there any lack of bell-bearing elephants."*

In such accounts of the grandeur and trade of the city, the Arab and native writers are at one. But few vestiges now remain of its ancient greatness. Tod has given what he calls "an imperfect sketch" of the area of the ancient city; but the relative positions he gives have to be reversed; the larger portions of the area of the old capital lay—not to the east of the modern town, but to the west of it, in which direction there are foundations and mounds containing remains to a distance of four or five miles. In this direction is the village of *Wadali*—said to occupy the site of *Ghi-ka-Mandavi*, or Ghi market of the old city. On the east of the present town to the distance of nearly a mile, as well as a little beyond the north and south boundaries of it, there are also traces of old Pattan,—proving that the circumference of twelve kos or eighteen (perhaps twenty-four) miles assigned to it by the *Charitra* was no exaggeration. Ali Muhammad Khan, writing about 1760, says: "Regarding the greatness and extent of the buildings in the city of Pattan during former times, there are yet many visible signs; for, from the present inhabited part to the distance of three kos, the bricks and rubbish, strewed in the jungle, give testimony of these; whilst round towers and ramparts, in different places, indicate where once extended the city. Certainly, in the course of ages, there have

* Tod's *Travels in Western India*, pp. 156-158.

been many changes; and, by degrees, the vestiges of many former edifices have been obliterated. During the period the Rajas held power, "so much marble was brought from Ajmir and other places for building the Hindu temples, that on digging it is found in abundance."*

Contemporary with Vanaraja, in the eighth century, was *Bhuwad*, or *Bhuyada*, the Chalukya sovereign of Kalyan in the Dekhan. "Bhuwad Raya had a son, Karna, whose son was Chandraditya; his son was Somaditya, and his Bhumaditya" or Bhuvanaditya, who had three sons, one† of whom, returning from a pilgrimage to Somanath, visited the court of Samant Sinha the Chawada, at Pattan, and married Liladevi, the sister of the sovereign. This princess died in childbirth, but the infant was taken alive from the womb, and the moon being in the nineteenth or *Mulanakshatra*, the child was named *Mula-Raja*. Samant Chawada educated him as his own son, and abdicated the kingdom in his favour, but wishing again to resume it, Mula Raja put his uncle to death. Thus arose the *Solanki* dynasty A.D. 942. In the reign of the fifth sovereign of this race, Bhima Deva, the Brahma Dev of Ferishtah, the son of Naga Raja, and great grandson of

* Bird's *Mirat Ahmadi*, p. 164.

† Tod gives their names as Ar, Dhitak, and Abhirama, and makes Ar the father of Mularaja. Forbes says their names were Raja, Bija, and Dandak, and that Raja married Liladevi; and Abul Fazl says it was Dandak. Conf. Tod, *Travels in West. India*, p. 166; Forbes, *Ras Mala*, vol. I. p. 43; and Gladwin's *Ayin Akbari*, vol. II. p. 74.

Mula Deva, Mahmud of Ghazni, on his celebrated march to Somanath, invaded Gujarat, and finding Bhima unprepared to contend with him, made an easy capture of the city; the king fled, but attacked the Muhammadans before Somanath and destroyed about three thousand of them, after which he was besieged by Mahmud in a fort called Gandaba, but fled from it, leaving much spoil to the barbarous conqueror, who then returned to Anhillawada, where it is said he proposed to fix his residence, but was dissuaded from it by his counsellors.

Under Bhima Deva (A.D. 1022—1073), his son Karna Deva, and grandson Siddha Raja, Anhillawada attained its greatest splendour, and the Solanki dominion its widest extent. They are said to have held rule over eighteen kingdoms, extending from Kolhapur on the south, over Malwa to the Ganges, and perhaps to the Sutlej and Indus on the north-west. Karna Deva founded *Karnavati* and erected or restored several shrines, whilst Siddha Raja and his successor Kumarapala were famous for the number and magnificence of their buildings. Bhima Deva II. ascended the throne in 1178, and apparently in the same year defeated Shah-abu'd-din, but in 1194, Kutbu'd-din-Aibak, the general of Muhammad Ghori, led his troops into Gujarat, where he found Jivan Raya, the leader of Bhima's forces, encamped under the walls of *Nahrwalah*, but he fled at the approach of the invader, who ravaged Gujarat. Bhima Deva im-

mediately after, assisted by his feudatories Prahladana and Dara Varsha of Chandravati, and the Chief of Nagor, defeated Kutbu'd-din and besieged him in Ajmir. There he was relieved by troops from Ghazni, and marching into Gujarat in 1196, he again captured the city, ravaged the country, and obtained vast spoils in jewels, gold, and slaves. He also left a garrison in Anhillawada, but we hear no more of it, and Gujarat continued an independent state for another century. The *Waghela* dynasty ruled from A.D. 1214 nominally to 1303. In 1297 the Sultan Ala-u'd-din sent his army into Gujarat and defeated Raja Karna Waghela, who fled to Rama Deva, the king of *Devagadh*, now Daulatabad in the Dekhan. Then and thenceforward the architectural works of the great Solanki kings were wilfully and maliciously dilapidated by Islamite bigotry. Alp Khan, one of the first governors of *Nahrwalah*, it is recorded, "built the Friday mosque of white marble, which remains at the present time (cir. 1760), and the pillars of the same work of his, as known to common people, are so numerous, that one often makes a mistake in counting them. They also relate that it was once an idol temple converted into a mosque; but it is, in short, a wonderful and noble building, which was then in the centre of the city, though now distant from the part inhabited."*

* *Mirat Ahmadi*, pp. 163, 164.

The Mughul Governors of Gujarat who ruled at Anhillawâda appear to have been as follows:—

1297 Alif Khan Almas Beg.
1299 Alp Khan Malik Sanjar.
1317 Malik Kamilu'd-din Mubarak Shah.
—— Ainu'l Muluk Multani.
—— Zafir Khan Malik Dinar, father-in-law of the Padshah Kutbu'd-din Mubarak Shah.
—— Hissamu'd-din, of Parmar descent.
—— Malik Wajiu'd-din Koreshi.
—— Malik Khusru Khan brother of Hissamu'd-din, usurped the throne of Dehli as Nasiru'd-din Khusru in 1320.
1321 Malik Wajiu'd-din as Taju'l Mulk.
1325 Ahmad Ayaz.
1346 Khan Jehan Malik Mukbil.
1350 Nizamu'l Mulk.
—— Zafir Khan.
1371 Daria Khan, son of Zafir Khan.
1376 Shamsu'd-din Damghani.
—— Malik Mofarrah, *alias* Farhatu'l Mulk Rasti Khan, raises a rebellion.

In 1391 the people of Khambát preferred complaints to Muhammad Shah Tughlak II. against the oppressions of Farhatu'l Mulk, who appears to have wished to ignore the paramount authority of the Dehli government. The emperor accordingly chose "Muhammad Shah Zafir Khan, the son of Waji-u'l Mulk, a Muhammadan convert from the Taka Rajputs, and conferring on him the title of Azim Humayun," with permission to use a red canopy

such as peculiarly distinguishes kings, sent him into Gujarat to punish Farhatu'l Mulk. The latter met the forces of Zafir Khan at *Kambhu*, not far from Siddhapur, but was defeated and slain. Zafir Khan then founded the town of Jitpur on the scene of his victory, and in 1407 he assumed independence as Muzaffir Shah, and founded the dynasty of the Gujarat kings, which held sway for a hundred and sixty-five years. Muzaffir was poisoned by his grandson Ahmad in 1410-11, and he and his son Sultan Muhammad Tatar Khan who died before him, were buried at Pattan; but the capital was now transferred to Ahmadabad, and the old city of Vana Raja was despoiled to embellish it. It is needless to trace the incidental notices of the city for the next four hundred years. In the last century it fell into the hands of the Gaikwad, "and Damaji, with all the ambition of a conqueror, raised a new town, or rather new walls round a suburb of the city of Vanaraja, but which, instead of Anhillawád Pattan the 'city or capital of the land of Anhil,' was styled simply Patan."[1]

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[1] Tod, *Travels in Western India*.

XII.—ANHILLAWÁDÁ—ITS REMAINS, &c.

"*That 'which Cambyses or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth', and the poor cold ashes of Anhillawada are sold for a pitiful gain by her vulgar Maratha lords, ignorant as they are alike of her glory and of their dishonour.*"*

What remains *could* exist of its former splendour when, for four centuries and a-half, Musalman and Maratha have in succession dug over its ruins for chiselled marble and carved granite? and still the work goes on. Even that "magnificent relic," of which Tod speaks so highly —"the skeleton arch of a noble gateway," with "the pure Hindu kankras and embattled parapets," and 'the pilasters† supporting the ribs, as firmly rivetted to the masonry which supported them, as on the day of erection,'—is now no more: every vestige of it has been carted away;—adding another

* *Ras Mala*, vol. 1. p. 250.

† "They are chaste," he adds, "and well proportioned to the arch, and the capitals are purely Hindu, being ornamented with chain festoons, having the *Vira-gantha* or war-bell, the most ancient and general decoration of the columnar architecture of the Jainas (of which faith were the Balharas), suspended by a chain between each festoon, like the columns at Baroli. On each side and about half-way up the segment of the arch, is the lotos."—*Travels in Western India*, p. 227.; and conf. *Annals of Rajasthan* vol. II. p. 710.

to the many losses that are so frequently occurring to make us wish that some means were speedily organised for the preservation, or at least the delineation and accurate description, of relics so valuable to the antiquarian, the architectural critic, and the historian. But so long as their destruction does not influence the price of cotton or of piece goods we do not seem to care.

Leaving the city by the Kansaro gate, on the west, my first visit was paid to the two old towers and the shrine of *Kalika Mata*, which they overshadow. I scrambled to the top of the towers, but, partly owing to the thick foliage of some lofty trees by which they are embowered, I was disappointed with the view. In front of them is the shrine, which has been restored in comparatively modern times, but with old materials,—indeed nothing here seems to be built with new. In approaching the temple of Kalika, we come to a square, open canopy, over a figure of Hanuman, as usual—filthy with oil and red-lead. This stands upon a bridge across what was probably the old fosse. It consists of three arches—not exactly pointed, but with very sharp curvature at the apex, and having the voussoirs radiating. This leads to a gateway which gives entrance to a court of no great age, which, with a smaller one to the left, forms a sort of *dharmashala*. In an enclosure to the right is the shrine —a small low temple, containing *Kálikâ* and *Bhadrakálâ* in white marble, and, in a recess, a small, dirty, marble figure of *Ambá Máta* ; there is also a

jaladhara with the representation of a human head in it, that the Brahmans shew as the head of *Jagadeva Parmar*, which legend says the Mata demanded and Jagadeva gallantly offered, in order that Siddha Raja's life might be spared by the Fates. The story is one of considerable interest, and has been well told in the *Ras Mala*.* This court is strewn with carved stones, and into the walls are built some sculptured marble slabs. To the left of these enclosures, and in the middle between the old towers, are the remains of another court—probably a part of the old shrine—with loose blocks of quartz lying about, some of them well carved. Returning to the town we pass the Muhammadan shrine of *Gebanshah*, who seems to be a popular saint or spirit among them, for at Talaja and elsewhere we meet with oratories to him.

I was next taken to a place called *Padmanath*,—a very curious maze or labyrinth, said to have been formed by a *Kumbhar* or potter about three hundred years ago, when the Khan Khanan, the first Subahdar of Gujarat after its conquest by Akbar, was here. The Khan, it is said, constructed the tank that now goes by the name of Khan Sarowar, and whilst the work was going on he observed a potter among the work-people take up a basketful of earth to carry away, but the basket only hung in the air over the man's head without touching it. On asking the reason of this, the Khan was told

* Vol. I. pp. 118-153.

that it was by the favour of the deity, and having an incurable ulcer on his back he asked the potter to employ his powers in healing it. This the man succeeded in doing by applications of the clay from his wheel, and was requested to ask a reward. He solicited this piece of ground on which to form *tulsi kyaras* (beds or plots for basil.) It is of considerable extent, and the walks are eight feet wide or more, and are cut four or five feet below the level of the plots, which are covered by a dense growth of trees besides *tulsi* plants. This *Padmanath Kumbar* has many followers, who believe him to have been an *avatar*, and worship him under the form of the *tulsi* plant.

On the south side of Pattan, and opposite the gate of the same name, is the *Khan Sarowar*—a really noble artificial sheet of water, that may have been repaired by Khan Aziz Koka, or some of the servants of Akbar, but originally it was probably the work of some of the great Solankis. The supply waters first enter a large circular tank, and then pass along a well-built channel to another of sixteen sides, whence a short passage leads to the three sluices into the lake. Above these are erected two small pavilions connected by a stone railing. On the south-west is an outflow or waste-weir; and on the north-east shore is a modern temple of Shiva, built by Damaji Rao Gaikwád.

Proceeding to the north-west, we pass *Dada Deliya's Makam*, and a small temple of *Bahucheraji*—a *devi* worshipped at different places in

Gujarat, but who has no images in her temples. The object towards which the worshipper here turns is a square panel covered with pieces of looking glass and tinsel and facing the east. Our next halt is at *Mukhtamji Pir's dargah*,—for Pattan seems to have been favoured with an abundance of such saints; and the *dargah* of this one is said to occupy the site of the *poshala*, *apasro*, or monastery of the famous Jaina Acharya Hemachandra, the spiritual guide of Kumarapala, and the author of several works well known to Sanskrit scholars. The *dargah* stands in the centre of a pretty large square enclosure, at some distance to the south-west of the city, and is surrounded by graves. Near this *apasro*, tradition says, Kumarapala began to build a temple shortly before his death, and the following ridiculous reason is given for his so doing:—He was eating of the sweetmeat called *ghebar*, which he thought tasted like flesh, but he enjoyed it with pleasure; afterwards, however, he thought his doing so must have been sinful for a Jaina and called for Hemacharya to whom he put the case hypothetically. The monk declared that whoever did so ought, as a penance, to break the thirty-two teeth in his head. The king calling for an instrument to break his own, the monk begged him to commute the loss by building a temple with thirty-two corners, and promised to aid him in procuring stone with the assistance of *Babro Bhut*, an elf or demon sprite, who agreed to bring stones as long as the workmen could build in the supply each day. *Babro* got

kindred assistance and brought more than could be used in the course of one day and so claimed release from his contract. The temple, however, was finished, but by some accident it caught fire at the dedication,* and on Kumarapala's proposal to rebuild it, Hemachandra only said, "Why rebuild it now? Within six months, the periods of life allotted to you and me will have come to an end."

One of the great works of Siddha Raja, at Anhillawada, was the excavation of the *Seheslinga*, or *Sahasra Linga talao*,—the "tank of the thousand Shaiva shrines," the remains of which are still pointed out. It must have been a reservoir of immense size, and probably derived its name from the numerous little temples raised on the steps around it. In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreshwar—destroyed of course by the Muslim, and an octagonal *rozah* raised on its ruins. The basin of the lake is now a cultivated plain, with a large mound in the centre, surmounted by the dilapidated remains of this *rozah*. This great tank is said to have been begun by Siddha Raja just before he set out against Yashovarman, the sovereign of Malwa, and is the theme of legend and song. The best known of these perhaps is the ballad of the *Jasmá*, the beautiful Odani.† Of this I have been able, by the assistance of Mama Shankar-ram, to obtain fragments, and of

* Conf. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, vol. I. p. 204.

† See Forbes, *Ras Mala*, vol. I. pp. 111, 112, where the legend differs somewhat from the ballad.

the longest of these the following is a pretty literal version :—

A Ballad—called *Jhagado, Garbo, Rasado, Pavado,* or *Kisso.*

Rag.—At Patan rules Siddharao Solanki,
Greatly the people him praise.
Thither a man came,—a beggar,
In words he minutely describes—
The policy of state he applauds ;
Then praised he the *Padmani.**
'Where,' asks the king, 'is a maiden like this ?'
Said the beggar,—'In Malawa land.'
From that day by the arrow of love he was pierced ;
How he might see her the king was perplexed,—
By and by king and queen retired to their rest.

Between midnight and dawn, dreams the queen dreamt :
'Rise up, O king !' she exclaimed, 'get made a *talao,*
Without water the birds are dying ;
Beautiful is my Malawa land,
Where their thirst the *Sarases* quench.
Call for Dudhmal, your nephew,
That he may go ; write, and send an epistle
To the Odan in the Malawa land.
Write a hundred thousand of Ods,
And of Odanis write half a lakh.
Give to the hand of the Barot the letter,
Let him go and to Jasma deliver it.'

The Barot arrived at the Malawa land,
Women in line were drawing up water.
'Where,' asked he, 'is Jasma's dwelling,'
'That I do not know, O my brother !
A little way onward enquire.'
On the *chaura* play little children :
Of them he asked where was Jasmaji's house,—
'The lofty mansion, reaching up to the sky,

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* "The Hindus say there are five classes of women :—*Padmini, Hastini, Chitrani, Shankhini,* of which the first is the most perfect."—*Ras Mala,* vol. I. p. 160.

On the door hang festoons of pearls.'
A silver seat for the Barot was brought ;
' How came you here ?' he was asked.
' Our king to make a *takao* has formed the desire,
' And for you he has sent, therefore come.'
' Rise, maid ! at the lamp-flame, read the letter,'—
' A hundred thousand Ods is written,
Half a lakh is written of Odanis.'

Then went there of Ods a lakh,
And half a lakh of Odanis ;
In the *kheda* (?) they dined at night,
Then reached they the land of the Raja.
To the Raja the news came of Jasma's arrival.

Raja.—For the Ods give a place at the Gandara to dwell
Give to Jasma a place to abide in our palace.
Jasma.—Fit place for your queens is the palace,—
To us Odans *gandaros* are pleasant.
Raja,—To the Ods give *khichadi** for food,
For Jasma to eat cook the *churma.*
Jasma.—O King ! to your princes give *churmas,*
For us Odans *khichadi** suits well.
Raja.—To the Ods give coarse cloths for beds,
But for Jasma couches make ready.
Jasma.—On couches, O King ! sleep thy queens,
For us, Odans, *satharas* are pleasant.
Pradhan.—Jasma ! shew to us who is your *Jetha,*†
By what sign may the King recognise him ?
Jasma.—The one with golden spade is my *Jetha,*
He who has one of silver—my husband.
Pradhan.—Which is your brother, and which your father ?
Jasma.—There ! there ! stands my brother,
With his waist bound, near to my father.
Pradhan.—Which is your sister ? Jasma ! shew us your mother
Jasma.—Young is my sister, my mother is delicate.
Pradhan.—Which among these is your *nanadi*‡ ?
Which call you mother-in-law ?
Jasma.—Dark is my mother-in-law, my *nanadi* brown.

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* Dal and rice. † Husband's elder brother.
‡ Husband's sister.

Raja.—Jasma, lift little clay, that your waist do not bend.
Jasma.—O thoughtless king! do not foolishly talk!
Our business how can we neglect?
Raja.—A *Padmani*, O Jasma, are you;
Such work for you is unfitting,
Come you but to our dwelling,
Enjoyment as a queen you shall have,
I shall please you in all your desire.

Now the wind blew up the fringe of the dress of the fair,
And her beautiful form was disclosed,
The chignon (*chotlo*) of the beauty he saw.
Much wealth and five villages offered he,
Still the request of the king was refused.
But thereafter the king grew enraged,
And all the Ods put he to death.
A pile of sandal, Jasma had raised,
And all the Ods' bodies she burned.
Jasma.—O king! why so stare you aloft?
A golden sparrow flies there:
While burning myself these words I pronounce,—
"Eat, drink, but remain ever childless!"
Jasma then threw herself into the pile,
And the king kept gazing upon it.

A year or two ago the *Ods* (potters and brick-makers) built a small but neat temple to the memory of Jasmá: it is a Shaiva shrine.

Early in 1561 Bairam Khan, the famous minister of Akbar, arrived at Pattan, on his way to Makka and encamped on the plain. One day as he was returning from a pleasure seat in the middle of the Seheslinga lake, Mubarak Khan Lohani, an Afghan whose father Bairam had inadvertently killed in the battle of Machiwada, raised a tumult, and as Bairam mounted his horse, treacherously stabbed him in the back, and his followers despatched him with their swords.

Not far from the temple of Jasma is the *Rani's Wav*, of which the whole of the masonry has been removed except a portion of the *baudi* at one end, and a solitary pillar where the other must have been. The well has been built of brick and faced with stone elaborately ornamented with sculptures that perhaps deserve attention. From a hurried glance in the twilight they appeared to be of Jaina rather than Hindu mythology. The *Wav* is a genuine relic of the eleventh century, the work of *Udayamati*, the queen of the brave Bhima Deva Solanki, but it is in so ruinous a state that in a few years every vestige of it is likely to be carted away to build cowsheds or for some such vulgar purpose. The story goes that the pillars and body of the *wav* were removed about sixty years ago as materials for the erection of *Bahadur Singh's wav* inside the city. This latter I visited next morning : it has five openings above, besides the *baudi*,—but the smell of the water was intolerable. There are two stories above water, and on each side the entrance is an inscription recounting the virtues &c. of "Barot Shri Bahadursinghji Jaskaran, a servant of Shri Lalaji" (or Vishnu), and stating that "in Samvat 1862 (A. D. 1805), in the time of the Gaikwad Shrimantrao Shri Anandrao Maharaja Shrimant Fathasingh, he commenced the erection of this *wav*," which was finished by his son Himatsinghabhai Trikamdas in S. 1868 (A. D. 1811), costing ₹14,925. "To those who read Ram Ram !"

XIII.—PATṬAN—THE JAINA TEMPLES, &c.

The present city has a population of perhaps about 40,000, of which about an eighth part are Jainas. They have no less than 108 temples, large and small : among these *Panchasara Parshwanatha's* is one of the largest. The mandap is open in the centre, and the sanctum is cut off by a screen, through which is seen a row of white marble images, the principal one in the centre being of large dimensions, and bears the following inscription :—

'Samvat 1602 (A.D. 1545) Vaishaka Shuddha 15th. Monday. Parika Sahasvira, inhabitant of Pattan, caused the throne of Shri Panchasara Parshwanatha to be made : the ornament of the seat of Bhattarka Shri Hira Vijaya Suri, Shri Vijaya Sena Suri of the *Tapa gachha* performed the instalment.'

The temple is surrounded by a *hamti* or series of twenty-four cells, each enshrining images ; in the first are two standing images—*Vana Raja*, with the *chatra* or umbrella of dominion over his head, and at his left hand his minister *Jamba :* these, it is said, were brought from the old city, where they had decorated the temple erected by the founder for the *tirthankar* of his *guru*—Shilgana Suri. The inscription under it is not very legible, but is dated Samvat 1524 (A.D. 1467), and contains

the name of Muhammad Shah (Begadha)—from whose iconoclastic propensities the figure was probably in danger. The date in the inscription under the minister is different, but scarcely legible.

But if Vana Raja was a Jaina, as the books of their sect assert, he was not exclusive in his honour of their worship,—for in the *Gandharowádá*, I was taken to see a couple of old images in a little ruinous cell :—they were Ganpati and Umamahéshvar ; and under the former an inscription dated "Samvat 802 (A.D. 745), Chaitra Shuddh 2nd, Friday," and stating that "*Vana Rai* installed Umamaheshvara at Anahillavadipatan." My cicerone also obtained for me a copy of a copper plate in the possession of a Brahman at the temple of *Sindhvai Mata*, just outside the walls. The following is a translation* of it :—

"In the year 802 of Vikrama: Mangal Swámi vita, Chintamani Vinayaka, Hingula the presiding Devi, and Tripurari Maheshwar (*Shiva*) : *Vanaraja Chauda*, most illustrious as a Raja of Rajas, his chief minister Jámbu and the chiefs of the great men of city, having called the *vyasa* (or sage) *Janguli* who was practising austerities for propitiating (Shiva as) the *Linga Jala* in the *Bilvaparnashrama*† hermitage, and having paid him great respect promised him a fixed subsistence. He arranged this livelihood (for him) in the city of *Patana* on the *Trishuli* (3rd) day of Vai-

* Prepared by Ghelabhai Manklal Lalwala, B.A., from a copy sent me by Mama Shankar-ram Jankiram.

† Formed of the leaves of the *Bilva* tree, which is sacred to Shiva.

shakha Shuddha, viz.—one ser upon each wagon, a quarter ser on each burden, a pala on each ass-load, and a karsha (4 palas) of ghi on each kudi. This writing on a copper plate in letters of gold, was presented to the sage, and all gave their approval thereto, saying 'let this be an offering to Hari and Har (Vishnu and Shiva).' Then the praiseworthy king *Vanaraja*, the centre of the circle of Rajas, in the hearing and before the eyes of all the citizens who stood pre-eminent in the festival of the city and were skillful in trading, having pleased them and received their approval, with great kindness gave the deed of subsistence to the sage Janguli. They announced this to the members of their respective castes,—Shrimalis, Uswalas, Pauravatas, Nágars, Dekpalas, Gurjaras, Modhas, Yevas, inhabitants of Yuvata, Jalandharas, Harischandras, and Hobadas called Dedavas; these again seeing this, were much delighted and honoured *Vanaraja*, all saying 'Well done! Well done!' Then they together said—'Let this be joyfully maintained and by all who are born in our families with all their souls. Let him that is born in our families and will not protect this, be excommunicated by wise men for twelve years.' These six have the same reward,—the suggester, the maintainer, the informer, the approver, the donor, and the causer to give."

It ought to be remarked, however, that the characters on these inscriptions have suspiciously modern forms, and may not be older than the 15th century.

The temple of *Samla Parshwanatha* in Dhandarwada has a beautifully tessalated marble floor; the

pillars of the mandap are of wood ; and the image is a large one of black marble—without any date, and so ascribed to Samprati Raja. In *Vadi Parshwanatha's* temple, which was apparently undergoing alterations and repairs, there is a long inscription in forty-nine lines, on a marble slab, built into the wall, and dated the 41st year of the Ilahi era, or A. D. 1597. It recounts the praises of a long list of Jaina Suris or pontiffs, and concludes with the genealogy of Amaradatta, the founder of the *Chaitya*.*

The most jealously guarded treasures of Pattan, however, are the Jaina libraries. Why there should be such an aversion to allowing a stranger even to see their books, is not easy to explain : it was only after six hours' persistent endeavours, that I was at length permitted to be the first European to enter one of them and see its contents. The largest collection is in the *Pushtak-khana*, at the temple of Mahaviraswami in *Dandharwadá*, and many of the books are said to be very old, but the *Gorji* positively refused admittance to it ; those in the *Polio Apasro* are fewer, but the custodian was not at home ; and in the third library —in *Sangvi-na pada*—though the books are less numerous, they consist entirely of palm-leaf manuscripts. The entrance is by an obscure door, which leads into a little court before a small room containing two very large chests filled with MSS., each carefully wrapped in cloth with a small parcel of *ghodavaj (calamus aromaticus)* to protect it from

* See Appendix p. 116.

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insects. Access was only gained to this after about six hours persevering efforts in overcoming the difficulties thrown in the way, and the excuses for delay ; and only when their patience was worn out did they yield to the persuasions of those to whom the recommendations from Sheth Premabhai Hemabhai were addressed, and who from the first had spared no trouble in order to obtain admission for me.

I had requested the escort to be ready before noon, and it was now late in the day, so I sent to the *karkun* to remind him of his promise, and of how I had been obliged to start without the *sawars*. Soon after 5 p. m. I left Pattan, in the hope that the servant with the luggage, and probably the escort, would overtake me at *Sabosan*, two kos to the south ; but though I waited for hours at *Sabosan*, they never came up. Hiring a man to bring me intelligence of them, he returned to say he had heard they had gone towards *Mudhera* by another road, and I followed on to *Mithi Vavadi*, 1 kos ; thence to *Rupvar*, 1½ kos ; to *Chansama*, 1 kos ; thence to *Vadauli*, 2 kos ; and from *Vadauli* to *Mudhera*, 3 kos. The last was reached about 10½ a. m., but at none of the villages by the way could any intelligence be obtained of the luggage or *sawars*.

The country becomes less cultivated as we proceed to the south-west, and trees are now few except about the villages.

XIV.—MUDHERA—AND ITS TEMPLE, &c.

MUDHERA or *Mundhera* seems to have been at one time a place of some note; there are large mounds of brick remains; and on the west of the town a large *talao* that has at one time been surrounded by steps, and perhaps also with shrines, but the stones have been carried off. On a rising ground overhanging this, on the north-east is a small deserted masjid, of Hindu construction, supported by eighteen pillars arranged at equal distances. Farther to the west is the old temple, beautifully situated, with a fine tank in front of it, and though desecrated and defaced by Ala-u'd-din, it is still an imposing structure with a majestic beauty in its ruin that is rarely met with in such remains. The steps descending to the tank have been ornamented with numerous little shrines symmetrically arranged, but, with perhaps two exceptions, they are entire ruins. Ascending from the *Rama Kunda*, we pass between two very elaborate columns, now without their capitals, and, through the outer portico—also deprived of its roof—we ascend five steps, to the inner porch with its two advanced columns in front. Then comes *Sita's Chaura* or hall, rich in carving beyond anything I have met elsewhere. The central dome, now open above, is supported by eight columns of great elegance, with *torans* between each pair, outside which are eight similar ones; the outer wall is simply a screen rising to about half the height

of the six and thirty pillars in it that support the roof. Beyond the *Chaura*, and separated from it by a passage a few feet wide, is the *mandap* of the temple, similar in arrangement and elaborate workmanship, but with the walls rising to the roof, and containing at the back a shrine about eleven feet square inside, with a *pradakshina* four feet wide round it. The shrine has had a sunk story, and there are trap holes in the window recesses of the *mandap* leading down into some cellar below.

In many of the finest old Hindu temples there is a want of elevation,—here one of the first things that strikes the visitor is the perfect proportions of height and width. The extreme length of the *chaura* is about fifty feet, and of the temple proper nearly seventy over all. Outside, from the lowest member of the base upwards, the walls are covered with carving of unusual excellence, and far surpassing that on Amarnath in richness. I spent two hours in taking measurements, but, owing to the want of every assistance and the presence of wasps, the process was slow and difficult.

In the absence of a more detailed account, the following extract from the Journal of the late Col. Monier Williams, Surveyor-General, though written some sixty years ago, may be worth reproducing :—

"There is one of the finest specimens of ancient Hindu architecture at Mundhera I ever saw. It is a pagoda, very similar in structure to those of the present day; but ornamented so profusely, that it is very evident the founder

was determined to make it the most finished piece of work that it was possible for the compass of human art to effect. Most of the natives, however, believe it to be the performance of a deity. They say it was built by Rama, some thirty lakhs of years since. None of them will allow a later period for its erection than five thousand years ago. All the upper part of it is supported on pillars, which are of an order the most elegant, and enriched with carved work of exquisite beauty, and which would be considered in this refined age as the conception of a correct taste, and the execution of a masterly hand.

"Innumerable figures cover most of the bases of the pillars, and a considerable portion of the exterior and interior surface of the building. They consist of gods and goddesses, and groups of males and females; and on many of the columns, particularly in the second apartment from the entrance, are many obscene representations in basso-relievo.

"The domes were blown off, they say, by means of gunpowder, about eight hundred or a thousand years ago, by a Musalman prince. The lower circles remain, and are ornamented in a style of elegance that is uncommonly striking.

"In front of the pagoda there is a square reservoir of water, built of stone, perhaps sixty or seventy yards each way. Many beautiful little temples stand in recesses formed for them in the flight of steps to the water. This tank is overgrown with shrubs and grass. There is

plenty of water in it, but of a brackish taste, and green and dirty appearance.

"I do not recollect observing in any building that I have seen in India such marks of the sheer effects of time as many of the stones about this pagoda and tank display. We spent some time every day in inspecting the place; but such is the variety of its beauties, that it would have taken a much longer time than we had to spare to have discerned them all, or have gained a faint idea of the general design. Much of the sculpture represents the recorded actions of their gods or heroes One course of figures, including men, women, horses and other animals, variously engaged, form a belt of almost eighteen inches wide all round the exterior of the building, and represent some part of their sacred history: below this belt, and very near the ground, there is a range of elephants, also completely encompassing the building; their heads and fore-feet are exhibited, and their bodies must be supposed to be the supporters of the fabric."

A cursory glance at this beautiful ruin is sufficient to enable us to attribute its erection with some certainty to the early half of the twelfth century, the age of Siddharaja; and in accordance with this conclusion, arrived at on the spot, is the evidence of the following fragment of an old *garbo*, since received from Pattan:—

The Queens ask—"O Raja, where have you spent wealth?"—
The *Sahasra linga* at Patan he formed;
Siddharay the praise of the gods at the temple appointed,—
Still Siddharay without children remained.

Again at Patan, the *Ranik vav* built he,
And images around it he installed,
At image by image a lamps' light was there,—
Still Siddharay without children remained.
To Siddhapur going, the *Bindusarovar* he made,
Round it three hundred sixty *pavadis* placed he,
At foot-print by foot-print was the light of the lamp,—
Still Siddharay without children remained.
Again the *Rudra Mala* he raised,
And the *Madhava Pavadiya* constructed,—
Still Siddharay without children remained.
To *Mudhera* went Siddharay,
Built the *Rama Kund* there and the temple,
For Brahmans he provided a feast,—
Still Siddharay remained without children.

Though we may regret the wanton destruction of these monuments of art, we should bear in mind that they were not destroyed as such, but as the shrines and strongholds of a superstition degrading to its votaries and provoking the blind vengeance of Islam, which doubtless preserved the people from the worst forms of internecine strife, and kept them for the introduction of a higher teaching than the Muslim had to offer.

Not having any information yet of my luggage and servant, I started about 2 p.m. and returned towards Pattan, and on reaching *Rupvar*, I heard that I had passed them at *Chansama*. Tired and hungry, I waited their arrival, and after midnight—30 hours from leaving Pattan—I made a hearty meal, and left again for Ahmadabad, crossed the *Khara Nadi* at 7 a. m., entering a more fertile country, with a good deal of cotton cultivation, and frequent fields of castor and sirsi, and after break-

fast and a short rest at Gabu, I passed through Diadara, Jitpur, Udera, Palor, and Balol—the last a large village with an outlying suburb about half the size of itself. The headman was very kind and attentive, and I rested here till the moon rose, and next morning—a bitterly cold one—was at Adundru, where is a beautiful lake and islet abounding in fowl, among which were a few of the gigantic *Saras*. The country abounds in magnificent tamarind and other trees, and reminds us of the description given of it three hundred years ago by Abu'l Fazl,* who thus writes of it :—"From Pattan to Barodah the distance of a hundred kos, both sides of the road are lined with mango trees, whose fruit are remarkably large and most delicious. There is one sort which is sweet whilst it is green. This *Subah* also produces abundance of very fine figs. Here are musk melons in winter and summer, which continue in season for two months each time. Their grapes are indifferent. They have also fruits and flowers in abundance. The country is so much covered with fruit trees that it is impossible to hunt. Here are many wild leopards." But it is evident the cultivation has not been improved since the time of Akbar, and some of the best features of this account have now disappeared. The trees most frequent by the wayside seemed to be the Tamarind, Kini or Rayana, Piluri, Khijara, and Maura or *Bassia latifolia*.

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* Gladwin's *Ayin Akbari*, vol. II. p. 62.

The roads were very heavy, rendering motion slow, and it was 10 a.m. before *Kadi* was reached. Being a town of 18,000 or 20,000 inhabitants, no bullocks could be got from the Mamlatdar until, after a delay of three hours, he procured them from some neighbouring village—a case of too frequent occurrence in the Gaikwad's territory. There are no schools here or at Pattan, or apparently anywhere in the Baroda territory—a want the people everywhere complain of. Seventeen kos more, and shortly before 7 a.m. next morning, just in time to catch the train, I was at Ahmadabad. Thus were my twelve days of Christmas holiday not unpleasantly spent.

APPENDIX.

I.—See Page 15.

In connexion with the landing of the Parsis at Sanjan, in the early part of the 8th century, there still exist copies of the fifteen Sanskrit *Shlokas* in which their Mobeds explained their religion to Jade Rana, the Raja of the place, and the reply he gave them. These *Shlokas* form the oldest document relating to the Parsis in India, and the following version of them may interest some readers; it is compiled principally from a translation kindly prepared for me by Dastur Hosang Jamasp, the learned High Priest at Poona, and has been compared with an old version in the possession of Dr. Wilson :—

The last two distichs have been taken from the latter version—the Dastur's MSS. being unintelligible.

Translation of the Sanjan Shlokas.

1. They who thrice a day worship the sun, the elemental five—fire, wind earth, æther, water,—the three worlds, through the *Naish Mantras*, and the divine Hormazd the chief of the *Suras* (or angels), the highly endowed, the exalted, the merciful one,—are we—the fair, the bold, the valiant, the athletic, the Parsis.*

2. We observe silence, according to our religious pre-

* Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 210.

cepts, in these seven situations—in making the fire oblation, bathing, contemplating the divinity, reading the sacred books, eating, and performing the functions of nature. The best among us always give liberally in alms, and adore the splendid fire with various scented woods, sweet flowers and the best fruits: Such are we the fair, the courageous, the brave, the strong, the Parsis.

3. They who wear the shirt (*sadra*), and who have round their loins, of good woollen thread, the sacred *kusti* with equal ends, and who cover the crown of the head with a cap of two folds, are we—the fair, the fearless, the valiant, and athletic Parsis.

4. On marriage and other festal days, and on usual holidays, we rejoice with song and the sound of instruments. Our maids, at such times, perfume their persons with *Shrikhanda Sandal* and sweet scents; we are firm in our pure religion, which abounds in good and perfect precepts, and is of advantage in all its observances: such are we the fair, &c., the Parsis.

5. We keep our houses clean, with plenty of food, and what is pleasing to the taste; and water from tanks or wells we always offer in charity with clothes and money to deserving mendicants. Such are we, &c.†

6. As pleasure and pain, ease and trouble, knowledge and ignorance, virtue and vice, uprightness and baseness, health and sickness, light and darkness, existence and destruction, are double and opposite in the system of the world, so we have opposites in our belief. Such are we, &c.

7. Drinking thrice of *gomutra*, consecrated with *mantras* and carefully preserved, we purify our insides; and thus

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* This fire-oblation is called *bod* or the performance of *Atash Nyaesh*, in which the Parsis feed the sacred fire with sandal wood, &c., five times a day.

† There are considerable differences between this and the old version in the 5th and 6th *Shlokas*.

after outward and inward purification we replace the *Kusti* on our waists; and without this girdle, we may not engage in silent meditation, in offerings, or other good acts: Such is our custom which is ever pleasing; and such are we, &c.

8.* Intercourse with women of ill-fame is forbidden. Our parents and ancestors we honour and celebrate their *Shrâddhâs*; We pay due respect to fire; We do not use meat without sacrificing it; Our females lately delivered or in their courses spread their bedding on the floor; our marriages are celebrated at the most propitious hours, and the widow who has lost her husband is not considered pure.† Such are we, the Parsis, observing daily these religious rites.

9. Till a Parsi woman who has borne a child has passed forty days, she cannot cook victuals; she should be moderate in her talk and sleep; nor ought she to bathe (*snan*) for forty days, to pray or adore the sun. We always venerate the æther, fire, earth, water, the moon, the sun, and *Yazad*: So is our tribe ever esteemed and acceptable.

10.‡ Only with fuel six months dried (do we feed the sacred fire,) and sandal wood, aloe-wood of *Malaya*, and benzoin, we use five times a-day to perform the *Homa* (fire oblation), uttering appointed words and formulas [in the *Atash Nyiesh*]: The fire is kept under a dome in shade from the sun's rays: We are ever true and just in our motives, and never addicted to young women: Such are we Parsis, &c.

11.§ As spoken by our *guru* (teacher) and enjoined by our writings, we preserve round the waist above the *sadra*, a woollen *Kusti*, neat, of golden colour, long and entire like a *mekhla* (or zone); the many advantages of wearing

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* This is the 10th in the older version and the next is the 11th.
† For remarriage?
‡ This is the 8th in the old version.
§ The 10th in the older translation.

it are equal to *snana* (ablution) in the Ganges: Such are we, &c.

12. In our minds we ever reflect upon the æther the moon, fire, the earth, the sun, and worship Hormazd as the bestower of victory, religion, and natural desires. We especially observe graces (*akshare*) before and after meals to render them wholesome. Such are we, &c.

13.* Our females are held pure only after passing seven nights from the commencement of their manner, and a month from childbirth, when only they are pure. We are beautiful in our dress, fair, and of golden colour, vigorous, and strong: Such are we, &c.

14. For expiation of sin *we make confession* (?) and as *panchagavya* (five products of the cow) is used, we first anoint our persons with *gaumutra*, before washing them with water, and after nine days we are clean. We constantly keep all the sayings of our *guru*, and are happy in observing his directions for the absolution of our sins. Such are we the fair, the bold, the brave, the athletic Parsis.

15. The inspired sage who appointed these religious observances for the guidance of men, promised eternal bliss to those who walked according to them. And we believe their supporters have found places in heaven. To their sacred memories devout Parsis strew sandal and pulse upon the ground. Such, &c.

16. (*The Rana's Reply*:) Welcome to those who walk faithfully in the way of Hormazd! May their race increase! May their prayers obtain the remission of their sins, and the smile of the sun; also may abundance of wealth, and the fulfilment of their desires flow from the liberality of *Lakshmi*; and may the ornaments of person and of mind which now adorn them continue to distinguish them among people for ever!

* The 9th in the older version.

II.—*Page* 19.

Strabo mentions one *Zarmanochagas* from *Bargosa*, who was in the train of the ambassadors who met *Augustus* at *Antioch* sent by an Indian king styled *Porus*. He states that this man, who had all his lifetime enjoyed the greatest happiness, resolved to resign his life before a change should occur to disturb his felicity; and at Athens, he mounted the funeral pile, and with a smile on his face saw the flames rise to envelop him. On his tomb was engraved—'ΖΑΡΜΑΝΟ-ΧΑΓΑΣ ΙΝΔΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΒΑΡΓΟΣΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ ΙΝΔΩΝ ΕΘΗ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΠΟ-ΘΑΝΑΤΙΣΑΣ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ'—'Here lies *Zarmanochagas*, an Indian from *Bargosa*, who, according to the custom of the country of the *Indians*, put an end to his existence.' Was *Bharoch* not meant by *Bargosa*?

III.—*Page* 44.

Since these pages were printed off, Mr. Krishna Shastri Godbole has sent me from Karachi the following revised translation of the Sanskrit inscription on *Dada Harir's Wav* at Ahmadabad :—

Salutation to the creator of the world! Salutation to *Vishnu* husband of Lakshmi, and to *Varuna* the deity of waters, on whom all living creatures subsist, and the witness of all good actions. May the mother of the three worlds by name *Kundalini*, the great power (*Parashakti*) be victorious, whose feet gods and men ever salute in the form of wells (*wápi*). I bow to *Vishwakarma* the bestower of all desires, and by whose favour all are enabled to perform

their works. All hail! In the wealthy city of *Ahmadabad* in the famous country of *Gurjar* (Gujarat), while the renowned and victorious Sultan *Mahmud* was ruling, the lady *Shri Harira*, wielding the sole power in the inner apartments of the royal palace,—in the north-east of *Harirpura*, for the use of the eighty-four lakhs of thirsting living beings, such as men, beasts, birds, and trees, from devotion to the great Lord, on Monday the 13th of *Paush Shuddha* in the Samvat year 1556 or Shak 1421 (*i.e.* A.D. 1499), made a *wâva* (*wâpi*). Seeing the collection of deep *amrit* (nectar) like water in this *wava* the *makara* living in (*kshirodakârnava*) the sea of milk, readily, and with the sweat-born, the oviparous (*ficlies*), plants, and the decrepid (*jardyu*), settled there for support while the sun and moon endure. The money spent in building the well was Rs. 29,000.* The illustrious and pious lady *Harira*, the chief of all the advisers of the king *Mahmud*, caused this well to be built: may this sweet *wava*, resorted to by people from all quarters, be used by mankind as long as sun and moon exist.....Beautiful erections of the wealthy to provide food for travellers and the poor everywhere exist. The lady *Shri Harira*, spending much money built this *wava* for the benefit of the world. In building this well there were as overseer *Malik Shri Bihamad* obedient to the commands of the great God.....

IV.—*Page* 101.

Translation of the inscription in the *Vddi Pârshwanâtha* temple at Pattan :—

Hail to the builder of the *Chaitya* at *Shri Vadi pura* for the *sangha* of the *jina* named *Parshwanatha!* May *Lakshmi* (wealth) be pleased to make the city of *Anahilla* always her abode!

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*Briggs, by a misdetection gives this as '3,29,000 Mehmudis,' a sum equal to about Rs. 1,58,000. See *Cities of Gujarashtra*. p. 218.

Before writing the genealogy of the great *gurus* of the *Kharatara gachha* in the *chaitya* of *Parshwanatha* in *Shri Vadipura*, praise is written. Bowing before *Arhant*.

In the reign of the illustrious emperor *Akbar*, Samvat 16[illegible], on Monday the 9th of *Margashirsha shuddha*, the moon being in *Purva Bhadrapad nakshatra*, at a propitious time, it (the *chaitya*) was begun.

It is the religious seat (*patta*) of *Shri Mahavira Swami*, the teacher of spiritual knowledge. On that seat was *Shri Udyotana Suri*, who made illustrious the Jaina convent continuously from generation to generation. On that seat was *Shri Vardhamana Suri*, who was as pure as the sun, the (*dandanayaka*) holder of the religious staff, the founder of an abode on *Mount Arbuda*, and who worshipped the *Surimantra** purified by *Shri Si Mandhara Swami*.† On that seat was *Shri Jineshwara Suri*, who in the year 1080, obtained [for the *gachha*] the title of *Khartara Vishada*, from King *Durlabha* of *Anahillapattan*, in place of that of *Chaitavasi*. On his seat (was) *Shri Jina Chandra Suri*. On his seat was *Shri Abhayadeva Suri*, who by the instructions of *Sasana Devi*‡ for removing leprosy, was the illustrious establisher of the *Stambhana Parshwanatha* image, and was much

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* *Surimantra*—a book containing *mantras*, bestowed, by the occupant of the *gadi* on his successor, whence he takes the title of "*Suri*" after his name.

† *Mandirswami* is an incarnation of the Tirthankara in *Mahavideha Kshetra* in *Jambudviya*. Each incarnation lasts for a particular definite period, after which another takes place.

‡ *Sasana Devi* is an attendant or familiar goddess attached to each Tirthankara; here the *Sasana Devi* named *Siddhaycka*, attendant on *Mahaviraswami*, is probably the one meant.

respected from writing the *Navanga** *Ashtavriti* and other *Shastras*. On his seat (was) *Shri Jina Vallabha Suri*, who by sending ten collections of letters converted to his opinions 10,000 *Shrawaks* of the *Vagada* country, and who diffused the knowledge of the *Jaina Shastras* by explaining the difficult but useful parts of the *Pindavishuddhi Prakarana*.† On his seat (was) *Shri Jina Datta Suri* who by his powers overcame sixty-four *Yogini* and fifty-two brave Muhammadan *Pirs* dwelling in *Sindh*, who by reading the golden letters in the hand of *Ambada Shrawak*‡ acquired the title of *Yugapradhana*§, and obtained followers in the *Panjab*. On his seat (was) *Shri Jina Chandra Suri* who instructed *Shri Mahatiyana* the chief of the *Shrimalas* and *Ushawalas*, and whose forehead was adorned with a jewel. On that seat was *Shri Jina Patti Suri* who was tried by *Nemichandra* of the *Bhandari gotra*‖, who defeated thirty-six disputants of the *Vidhipaksha gachha*,¶ writing the *Probodhaya*** and other works. On his seat was *Shri*

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* The *Nine Angas*: there are altogether *eleven angas*, which are included among the forty-five *Agamas* or sacred books of the Jainas. The forty-five *Agamas* include 11 *Angas*, 12 *Upangas*, 10 *Paiyannas*, 6 *Chhedas*, 4 *Mulasutras* and 2 *Anujogas*.

† The *Pindavishuddhi Prakarana* is a Jaina book relating to ceremonies.

‡ *Ambad Shrawak* was told by the *Sasanadevi* that he who should read the golden letters inscribed on his palm would be *ekawatari*, *i. e.* without second birth. *Jinadatta Suri* read them and therefore was *ekawatari*.

§ The title of *Yugapradhan* is bestowed on one possessed of miracnious powers.

‖ *Bhandari Gotra*—One of the *gotras* of the *Oswala gachha*, of which there are altogether 1,444.

¶ *Vidhipaksha gachha*,—now called *Achala gachha*, to which belong all the Kachhi Shrawaks in Bombay.

** *Probodhaya*—A religious book.

Jineshvara Suri, who performed the *pratishtha* of *Shri Santi* and *Vira* at *Ladal* and *Bijapura*. On his seat was *Shri Jina Prabodha Suri*. On that seat was *Shri Jina Chandra Suri*, who converted four kings, and was honoured with the title of *Budharaja*. On that seat was *Shri Jina Kushala Suri* who established the *Kharataravasati*—an ornament to the famous *Mount Shatrunjaya*, and was celebrated for very many excellent qualities. On his seat was *Shri Jina Padma Suri*. On this seat was *Shri Jina Labdhi Suri*. On this seat was *Shri Jina Chandra Suri*. On that seat was *Shri Jinodaya Suri*, to whom was given the *Vasakshepra** by a *devangana* (fairy) and who received the title of *Sanghapati*. On his seat was *Shri Jina Raja Suri*. On his seat was *Shri Jina Bhadra Suri* who established at many places 'treasuries of knowledge' (libraries). On his seat (was) *Shri Jina Chandra Suri*. On his seat (was) *Shri Jina Samudra Suri*, the conqueror of five *Yakshas* and performer of excellent deeds. On his seat was *Shri Jina Hansa Suri*, at whose religious austerities and meditation king *Sikandara* was so astonished that he released five hundred prisoners. On this seat (was) *Shri Jina Manikya Suri*, who wrote nine lakhs of discourses for his followers in the Panjab, and obtained fame from bearing severe troubles from the *Yavanas*. The ornament of his seat (was) this (present) *Shri* 108 *Shri Jina Chandra Suri*, chief of the *Surishvaras*, a mansion of the glory of victory over irresistible disputants, who revived the former rites, everywhere victorious, daily more and more successful, good and just, and the best of those who subdue the three (*tri-*

* A mixture of fragrant substances

bhuvana) worlds, illustrious by contemplation on the holy syllable *pranava*, who by constant meditation on the sacred *Surimantra* abased the pride of all disputants, and sanctified the earth with the sport of his feet (travelling) from place to place. He stopped in the year Samvat 1648, at the holy place *Stambha Tirtha* in the *chatur-masa* (four months of the rainy season). Hearing of his great exaltation, the lord *Jalalu'd-din* and the illustrious emperor *Akbar* became anxious to see him. Calling him, he came accordingly, and gave them delight by the number of his virtues, and thus he obtained *parwanas* not to kill any animals on the face of the earth during the eight days (*ashtahik*) of the happy month of *Ashadha*, and for the protection of the fish of the sea at *Stambha Tirtha* (Khambat), and obtained the title of *Sattama Shri Yugapradhana*. With their advice, in the year 1652, on the propitious 12th of *Magha Shuddha*, he went to see the five *Pirs* residing in the *Panjab*, and exceedingly learned in sacred writings imparted to them by their former preceptor, who conferred on him a great boon by which his sect was highly exalted, and he acquired the splendour of *Yugapradhana*. In the presence of the emperor *Akbar*, the *Acharya Shri Jina Sinha Suri* was appointed by him, with the consent of his attendants, as a counsellor for the whole caste of the *Oswalas*.

Bhima was a *mantri* (counsellor) whose lineage is as follows :—His revered wife was *Suhavade* and his son *Mahipati*, whose wife was *Amari* and his son *Vastupala*. His wife was *Siriyade* and son *Tejapala*, whose wife was *Shranamanta*; his son was *Amaradatta*, the swan of the lake-womb of *Shranamanta*, the fulfiller of the desires of the needy, pious, much devoted to the gods

and his spiritual teacher, who specially loved the Jaina religion, and was an ornament to the whole *Ukesha Vansa*.* His wife was *Ratnade* and son *Ratna-kunvarji*, whose wife was *Sobhagade*.

He (Amaradatta) accompanied by his sons and grandsons, headed by *Bahimibai Vatiputri*, and *Bai Jivani*, built with ceremony this *chaitya*, an ornament to the famous city of *Ahamadapura*, pleasing to the minds of gods and men, like to *Suragiri* (the dwelling of the gods), and adorned with four doors. In its *Rangshala* hall, on Thursday the 12th of *Vaishakha Vad*, in the *Samvat* year 1652, or *Ilahi* 41 (A. D. 1593), the moon being in *Revati Nakshatra*, at a propitious time, the image of *Shri Vadi Parshvanatha* was established with much worship. By the favour of gods, *gurus*, and *gotraja devis* (household goddesses), with the whole assembly who bow down and worship it, may this image long endure! Let it prosper! This *Pattavali* (genealogy) was written by *Udayasagara Guni* and carved by *Gajadhara Gallaka*, by the favour of *Lakshmi* and with due respect to the holy sages. May happiness ever continue.†

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* The *Osvala gachha* or caste.

† Translated by Krishna Shastri Godbole, corrected by a Jaina, and revised by Ghelabhai Manikla Lalwala, B. A.

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